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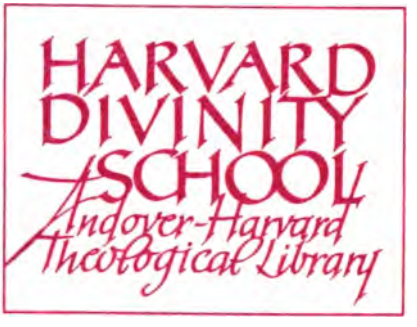
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THE WORKS

OF THE

ENGLISH REFORMERS:

William Tyndale,

AND

John Frith.

EDITED BY

THOMAS RUSSELL, A.M.

Ἀνθρώποις παραδεδωκόσι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.—Act. Apost. xv. 26.

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AN ANSWER

UNTO

SIR THOMAS MORE'S DIALOGUE,

MADE BY WILLIAM TYNDALE, 1530.

FIRST HE DECLARETH WHAT THE CHURCH IS, AND GIVETH A REASON OF CERTAIN WORDS WHICH MASTER MORE REBUKETH IN THE TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. AFTER THAT HE ANSWERETH PARTICULARLY UNTO EVERY CHAPTER WHICH SEEMETH TO HAVE ANY APPEARANCE OF TRUTH THROUGH ALL HIS FOUR BOOKS.

PREFACE TO THE READER.

Awake thou that sleepest, and stand up from death, and Christ shall give thee light. Eph. v.

THE grace of our Lord, the light of his Spirit to see and to judge, true repentance towards God's law, a fast faith in the merciful promises that are in our Saviour Christ, fervent love toward thy neighbour after the ensample of Christ and his saints, be with thee, (O reader) and with all that love the truth, and long for the redemption of God's elect. Amen.

Our Saviour Jesus in the xvith of John at his last supper, when he took his leave of his disciples, warned them, saying, The Holy Ghost shall come and rebuke the world of judgment. That is, he shall rebuke the world for lack of true judgment, and discretion to judge; and shall prove that the taste of their mouths is corrupt, so that they judge sweet to be sour, and sour to be sweet; and the eyes to be blind; so that they think that to be the very service of God, which is but a blind superstition, for zeal of which yet they persecute the true service of God: and

John xvi.

The Holy Ghost shall rebuke the world for lack of true judgment.

that they judge to be the law of God which is but a false imagination of a corrupt judgment, for blind affection of which yet they persecute the true law of God, and them that keep it.

1 Cor. ii. And this same it is that Paul saith, (1 Cor. ii.) how that the natural man that is not born again, and created anew with the Spirit of God, be he never so great a philosopher, never so well seen in the law, never so sore studied in the Scripture, as we have ensamples in the pharisees, yet he cannot understand the things of the Spirit of God; but saith he, The spiritual judgeth all things, and his Spirit teacheth the deep secrets of God, so that whatsoever God commandeth him to do, he never leaveth searching till he come at the bottom, the pith, the quick, the life, the spirit, the marrow, and very cause why, and judgeth all thing. Take an ensample, in the great commandment, Love God with all thine heart: the spiritual searcheth the cause and looketh on the benefits of God, and so conceiveth love in his heart. And when he is commanded to obey the powers and rulers of the world, he looketh on the benefits which God sheweth the world through them, and therefore doth it gladly. And when he is commanded to love his neighbour as himself, he searcheth that his neighbour is created of God, and bought with Christ's blood and so forth; and therefore, he loveth him out of his heart, and if he be evil forbeareth him, and with all love and patience draweth him to good: as elder brethren wait on the younger,

The spiritual judgeth all things spiritually.

Matt. xxii.

Rom xiii.

Matt. xxii.

The spiritual man searcheth out the cause why he ought to love his neighbours.

and serve them and suffer them, and when they will not come, they speak fair, and flatter, and give some gay thing, and promise fair, and so draw them and smite them not; but if they may in no wise be holp, refer the punishment to the father and mother, and so forth. And by these judgeth he all other laws of God, and understandeth the true use and meaning of them. And by these understandeth he in the laws of man, which are right, and which tyranny.

If God should command him to drink no wine, as he commanded in the Old Testament that the priests should not, when they ministered in the temple; and forbad divers meats; the spiritual (because he knoweth that man is lord over all other creatures, and they his servants, made to be at his pleasure, and that it is not commanded for the wine or meat itself, that man should be in bondage unto his own servant the inferior creature) ceaseth not to search the cause. And when he findeth it, that it is to tame the flesh and that he be alway sober, he obeyeth gladly; and yet not so superstitiously, that the time of his disease he would not drink wine in the way of a medicine to recover his health; as David ate of the hallowed bread; and as Moses for necessity left the children of Israel uncircumcised forty years, whereof likelihood some died uncircumcised, and were yet thought to be in no worse case than they that were circumcised, as the children that died within the viiith day were counted in as good case as they that were

Man is lord over all the creatures of the earth.

1 Reg. xxi.

Circumcision not frequented in forty years.

circumcised: which ensamples might teach us many things, if there were spirit in us.

Holy-days are ordained for man, and not man for the holy-days.

And likewise of the holy-day: he knoweth that the day is servant to man, and therefore, when he findeth that it is done because he should not be let from hearing the word of God, he obeyeth gladly; and yet not so superstitiously that he would not help his neighbour on the holy day, and let the sermon alone for one day; or that he would not work on the holy-day, need requiring it, at such time as men be not wont to be at church; and so throughout all laws. And even likewise in all ceremonies and sacraments, he searcheth the significations, and will not serve the visible things. It is as good to him, that the priest say mass in his gown as in his other apparel, if they teach him not somewhat, and that his soul be edified thereby. And as soon will he gape while thou puttest sand as holy salt in his mouth, if thou shew him no reason thereof. He had as lief be smeared with unhallowed butter as anointed with charmed oil, if his soul be not taught to understand somewhat thereby; and so forth.

The signification of things are to be sought, and not to serve the visible signs.

Ceremonies without some good doctrine, are to be rejected.

But the world captivateth his wit, and about the law of God maketh him wonderful imaginations, unto which he so fast cleaveth that ten John Baptists were not able to dispute them out of his head. He believeth that he loveth God, because he is ready to kill a Turk for his sake that believeth better in God than he; whom God also commandeth us to love, and to leave nothing

unsought to win him unto the knowledge of the truth, though with the loss of our lives. He supposeth that he loveth his neighbour as much he is bound, if he be not actually angry with him; whom yet he will not help freely with an halfpenny but for a vantage, or vain-glory, or for a worldly purpose. If any man have displeased him, he keepeth his malice in, and will not chafe himself about it, till he see an occasion to avenge it craftily, and thinketh that well enough. And the rulers of the world he obeyeth, thinketh he, when he flattereth them, and blindeth them with gifts, and corrupteth the officers with rewards, and beguileth the law with cautels and subtilties.

Turks are rather to be lamented for their ignorance, and to be won with good doctrine and example of good life, than to be hated and murdered.

And because the love of God and of his neighbour, which is the spirit and the life of all laws, and wherefore all laws are made, is not written in his heart, therefore in all inferior laws, and in all worldly ordinances is he beetle blind. If he be commanded to abstain from wine, that will he observe unto the death too, as the charterhouse monks had lever die than eat flesh: and as for the soberness and chastising of the members will he not look for, but will pour in ale and beer of the strongest without measure, and heat them with spices, and so forth. And the holy-day will he keep so straight, that if he meet a flea in his bed, he dare not kill her, and not once regard wherefore the holy-day was ordained to seek for God's word: and so forth in all laws. And in ceremonies and sacraments, there he captivateth his wit and

We do nothing well, except we do it of love from a pure heart.

Superstitious observations are rather the breaking of the law than the keeping of the same.

understanding to obey holy church, without asking what they mean, or desiring to know; but only careth for the keeping, and looketh ever with a pair of narrow eyes, and with all his spectacles upon them, lest ought be left out. For if the priest should say mass, baptize, or hear confession without a stole about his neck, he would think all were marred, and doubt whether he had power to consecrate, and think that the virtue of the mass were lost, and the child not well baptized, or not baptized at all, and that his absolution were not worth a mite. He had lever that the bishop should wag two fingers over him, than that another man should say, God save him; and soforth. Wherefore, beloved reader, inasmuch as the Holy Ghost rebuketh the world for lack of judgment; and inasmuch also as their ignorance is without excuse before whose faces enough is set to judge by, if they would open their eyes to see, and not captivate their understanding to believe lies: and inasmuch as the spiritual judgeth all thing, even the very bottom of God's secrets; that is to say, the causes of the things which God commandeth; how much more ought we to judge our holy father's secrets, and not to be as an ox, or an ass, without understanding.

The world is to be rebuked for lack of judgment.

Judge, therefore, reader, whether the pope with his be the church; whether their authority be above the Scripture; whether all they teach without Scripture be equal with the Scripture; whether they have erred, and not only whether

Judge by these things whether the pope have erred or not.

they can. And against the mist of their sophistry take the ensamples that are past in the Old Testament, and authentic stories, and the present practice which thou seest before thine eyes. Judge whether it be possible that any good should come out of their dumb ceremonies and sacraments into thy soul. Judge their penance, pilgrimages, pardons, purgatory, praying to posts, dumb blessings, dumb absolutions, their dumb pattering and howling, their dumb strange holy gestures, with all their dumb disguisings, their satisfactions and justifyings. And because thou findest them false in so many things, trust them in nothing, but judge them in all things. Mark at the last the practice of our fleshly spiritualty, and their ways by which they have walked above eight hundred years, how they stablish their lies; first, with falsifying the Scripture; then through corrupting with their riches, whereof they have infinite treasure in store; and last of all, with the sword. Have they not compelled the emperors of the earth, and the great lords and high officers to be obedient unto them, to dispute for them, and to be their tormentors, and the Samsumims themselves do but imagine mischief, and inspire them.

Judge what baggage is in the pope's doctrine, and of his making.

Note the practice of our fleshly spiritualty.

Mark whether it were ever truer than now, the scribes, pharisees, Pilate, Herod, Caiphas and Anna, are gathered together against God and Christ. But yet I trust in vain, and he that brake the counsel of Achitophel, shall scatter theirs. Mark whether it be not true in the

The papists are gathered together against Christ.

highest degree, that for the sin of the people hypocrites shall reign over them. What shows, what faces and contrary pretences are made, and all to stablish them in their theft, falsehood, and damnable lies, and to gather them together for to contrive subtilty to oppress the truth, and to stop the light, and to keep all still in darkness. Wherefore it is time to awake, and to see every man with his own eyes, and to judge, if we will not be judged of Christ, when he cometh to judge. And remember that he which is warned hath none excuse, if he take no heed. Herewith, farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ, whose Spirit be thy guide and doctrine, and the light to judge withall. Amen.

Our sin is the cause that hypocrites reign.

The practice of prelates.

AN ANSWER

UNTO

SIR THOMAS MORE'S DIALOGUE,

MADE BY WILLIAM TYNDALE, 1530.

WHAT THE CHURCH IS.

THIS word church hath divers significations. First it signifieth a place or house, whither Christian people were wont in the old time to resort at times convenient, for to hear the word of doctrine, the law of God, and the faith of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and how and what to pray, and whence to ask power and strength to live godly. For the officers thereto appointed preached the pure word of God only, and prayed in a tongue that all men understood. And the people hearkened unto his prayers, and said thereto Amen; and prayed with him in their hearts, and of him learned to pray at home, and every where; and to instruct every man his household.

Significations of the word church are divers.

The ministers of the church are appointed to preach to the people surely the word of God, and to pray in a tongue that all men understand.

Where now we hear but voices without signification; and buzzings, howlings, and cryings, as it were the hallooings of foxes, or baitings of bears; and wonder at disguisings and toys whereof we know no meaning.

By reason whereof we be fallen into such ignorance, that we know of the mercy and promises which are in Christ nothing at all.

And of the law of God we think as do the Turks, and as did the old heathen people, how that it is a thing which every man may do of his own power, and in doing thereof becometh good, and waxeth righteous, and deserveth heaven; yea, and are yet more mad than that. For we imagine the same of fantasies, and vain ceremonies of our own making; neither needful unto the taming of our own flesh, neither profitable unto our neighbour, neither honour unto God.

The law cannot be fulfilled with works, be they never so holy.

A great abuse in prayer.

And of prayer we think, that no man can pray but at church, and that it is nothing else but to say *Pater noster* unto a post. Wherewith yet, and with other observances of our own imagining, we believe we deserve to be sped of all that our blind hearts desire.

The church taken for the spirituality.

In another signification it is abused and mistaken for a multitude of shaven, shorn, and oiled, which we now call the spiritualty and clergy. As when we read in the chronicles, king William was a great tyrant, and a wicked man unto holy church, and took much lands from them.

King William.

King John.

King John was also a perilous man, and a wicked unto holy church, and would have had them punished for theft, murder, and whatsoever mischief they did, as though they had not been people anointed, but even of the vile rascal and common lay people.

St. Thomas of Canterbury.

And Thomas Becket was a blessed and an holy man, for he died for the liberties (to do all mischief unpunished) and privileges of the church. Is he a layman, or a man of the church? Such is the living of holy church. So men say of holy church. Ye must believe in holy church and do as they teach you. Will ye not obey holy church? Will ye not do the penance enjoined you by holy church? Will ye not forswear obedience unto holy church? Beware lest ye fall into the indignation of holy church, lest they curse you, and so forth. In which all we understand but the pope, cardinal, legates, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, chancellors, archdeacons, commissaries, officials, priests, monks, friars, black, white, pied, grey, and so forth, by (I trow) a thousand names of blasphemy, and of hypocrisies, and as many sundry fashions of disguisings.

Holy church hath borne a great swinge.

The pope and his rabble taken for the church.

The church is a congregation of people of all sorts gathered together.

It hath yet, or should have, another signification, little known among the common people now-a-days. That is to wit, it signifieth a congregation, a multitude or a company gathered together in one, of all degrees of people. As a man would say, the church of London, meaning not the spiritualty only (as they will be called for their diligent

serving of God in the Spirit, and so sore eschewing to meddle with temporal matters) but the whole body of the city, of all kinds, conditions, and degrees: and the church of Bristol, all that pertain unto the town generally. And what congregation is meant, thou shalt alway understand by the matter that is entreated of, and by the circumstances thereof.

The church of God how it is taken in Scripture.

And in this third signification is the church of God or Christ taken in the Scripture, even for the whole multitude of all them that receive the name of Christ to believe in him, and not for the clergy only. For Paul saith (Gal. i.) I persecuted the church of God above measure: which was not the preachers only, but all that believed generally. As it is to see Acts xxii. where he saith: I persecuted this way even unto the death, binding and putting in prison both men and women. And (Gal. i.) I was unknown concerning my person unto the congregations of the Jews which were in Christ. And (Rom. xvi.) I commend unto you Phebe the deaconess of the church of Cenchris. And the churches of Asia salute you. (1 Cor. the last.)

Gal. i.

Acts xxii.

Gal. i.

Rom. xvi.

1 Cor. xvi.

And if a man cannot rule his own house, how shall he take the care of the church of God? (1 Tim. iii.) If any faithful man or woman have widows, let them find them, that the church be not charged. (1 Tim. v.) And (Matt. xviii.) If thy brother hear thee not, tell the church or congregation, and so forth. In which places, and throughout all the Scripture, the church is taken for the whole multitude of them that believe in Christ in that place, in that parish, town, city, province, land, or throughout all the world, and not for the spiritualty only.

1 Tim. iii.

1 Tim. 5.

The church is a multitude of all them that believe in Christ whereso-ever they be gather-ed toge-ther.

Notwithstanding, yet it is sometimes taken generally for all them that embrace the name of Christ, though their faiths be nought, or though they have no faith at all. And sometimes it is taken specially for the elect only, in whose hearts God hath written his law, with his holy Spirit, and given them a feeling faith of the mercy that is in Christ Jesu our Lord.

A double signification of this word church.

WHY TYNDALE USED THIS WORD CONGREGATION, RATHER THAN CHURCH IN THE NEWTESTAMENT.

WHEREFORE inasmuch (as the clergy, as the nature of those hard and indurate adamant stones is to draw all to them) had appropriate unto themselves the term that of right is common unto all the whole congregation of them that believe in Christ, and with their false and subtle wiles had beguiled and mocked the people, and brought them into the ignorance of the word; making them understand by this word church, nothing but the shaven flock; of them that shore the whole world; therefore in the translation of the New Testament, where I found this word *ecclesia*, I interpreted it, by this word congregation. Even, therefore did I it, and not of any mischievous mind or purpose to stablish heresy, as master More untruly reporteth of me in his dialogue, where he raileth on the translation of the New Testament.

The cause why Tyndale translated the word church into this word congregation.

And when M. More saith, that this word church is known well enough, I report me unto the consciences of all the land, whether he say truth or otherwise, or whether the lay-people understand by church the whole multitude of all that profess Christ, or the juggling spirits only. And when he saith that congregation is a more general term, if it were, it hurteth not. For the circumstance doth ever tell what congregation is meant. Nevertheless, yet saith he not the truth. For wheresoever I may say a congregation, there may I say a church also, as the church of the devil, the church of Satan, the church of wretches, the church of wicked men, the church of liars, and a church of Turks thereto.

Congregation is understood by the circumstance.

For M. More must grant (if he will have *ecclesia*

translated throughout all the New Testament by this word church) that church is as common as *ecclesia*. Now is *ecclesia* a Greek word, and was in use before the time of the apostles, and taken for a congregation among the heathen, where was no congregation of God or of Christ. And also Lucas himself useth *ecclesia* for a church or congregation of heathen people thrice in one chapter, even in the xixth chapter of the Acts, where Demetrius the goldsmith, or silversmith, had gathered a company against Paul for preaching against images.

Ecclesia is a Greek word, and signifieth a congregation.

Acts xix.

Howbeit, M. More hath so long used his figures of poetry, that (I suppose) when he erreth most, he now by the reason of a long custom, believeth himself that he saith most true. Or else (as the wise people, which when they dance naked in nets, believe that no man seeth them) even so M. More thinketh that his errors be so subtilly couched that no man can espy them. So blind he counteth all other men in comparison of his great understanding. But charitably I exhort him in Christ to take heed, for though Judas were wilier than his fellows to get lucre, yet he proved not most wise at the last end. Neither though Baalam the false prophet had a clear sight to bring the curse of God upon the children of Israel, for honour's sake, yet his covetousness did so blind his prophecy, that he could not see his own end. Let, therefore, M. More and his company awake by times, ere ever their sin be ripe, lest the voice of their wickedness ascend up, and awake God out of his sleep, to look upon them, and to bow his ears unto their cursed blasphemies against the open truth, and to send his harvestmen and mowers of vengeance, to reap it.

M. More was skilful in poetry.

Judas.

Baalam.

A good admonition to M. More.

But how happeth it that M. More hath not contended in likewise against his darling Erasmus all this long while? Doth he not change this word *ecclesia* into congregation, and that not seldom in the New Testament? Peradventure he oweth him favour because he made Moria in his house. Which book, if it were in English, then should

M. More did greatly favour Erasmus.

every man see, how that he then was far otherwise minded than he now writeth. But, verily, I think that as Judas betrayed not Christ for any love that he had unto the high priests, scribes and pharisees, but only to come by that wherefore he thirsted; even so M. More (as there are tokens evident) wrote not these books for any affection that he bare unto the spiritualty, or unto the opinions which he so barely defendeth, but to obtain only that which he was an hungred for. I pray God that he eat not too hastily, lest he be choked at the latter end, but that he repent, and resist not the Spirit of God, which openeth light unto the world.

M. More was a deep dissembler.

WHY HE USETH THIS WORD ELDER, AND NOT PRIEST.

M. More is captious.

ANOTHER thing which he rebuketh, is, that I interpret this Greek word *presbyteros* by this word senior. Of a truth senior is no very good English, though senior and junior be used in the universities; but there came no better in my mind at that time. Howbeit, I spied my fault since, long ere M. More told it me, and have mended it in all the works which I since made, and call it an elder. And in that he maketh heresy of it, to call *presbyteros* an elder, he condemneth their own old Latin text of heresy also, which they use yet daily in the church, and have used, I suppose, this fourteen hundred years. For that text doth call it an elder likewise. In the 1 Pet. v. thus standeth it in the Latin text. *Seniores qui in vobis sunt, obsecro ego consenior, pascite qui in vobis est gregem Christi.* The elders that are among you, I beseech, which am an elder also, that ye feed the flock of Christ, which is among you. There is *presbyteros* called an elder. And in that he saith, Feed

M. More condemneth the Latin text.

1 Pet. v.

Christ's flock, he meaneth even the ministers that were chosen to teach the people, and to inform them in God's word, and no lay-persons. And in the 2nd Epistle of John, saith the text, *Senior electæ dominæ et filiis ejus.* The elder unto the elect lady and to her children. And in the 4th Epistle of John, *Senior Gaio dilecto.* The elder unto the beloved Gaius. In these two Epistles *presbyteros* is called an elder. And in Acts, chap. xx., the text saith: Paul sent for *majores natu ecclesiæ*, the elders in birth of the congregation or church, and said unto them, Take heed unto yourselves, and unto the whole flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you *Episcopos ad regendum ecclesiam Dei*, bishops, overseers, to govern the church of God. There is *presbyteros* called an elder in birth, which same immediately is called a bishop or overseer, to declare what persons are meant. Hereof ye see that I have no more erred than their own text, which they have used since the Scripture was first in the Latin tongue, and that their own text understandeth by *presbyteros*, nothing save an elder. And they were called elders, because of their age, gravity and sadness, as thou mayest see by the text: and bishops, or overseers, by the reason of their offices. And all that were called elders, (or priests, if they so will) were called bishops also, though they have divided the names now, which thing thou mayest evidently see by the first chapter of Titus, and Acts xx., and other places more.

John ii.

John iii.

Acts xx.

Bishops are ordained to be overseers and governors of the church.

The ministers of the church, why they were called elders.

And when he layeth Timothy unto my charge, how he was young, then he weeneth that he hath won his gilden spurs. But I would pray him to shew me where he readeth that Paul calleth him *presbyteros*, priest, or elder. I durst not then call him *episcopus* properly. For those overseers which we now call bishops after the Greek word, were alway biding in one place to govern the congregation there.

Bishops ought to be biders in one place.

Now was Timothy an apostle. And Paul also writeth that he came shortly again. Well, will he say, it cometh

yet all to one. For if it becometh the lower minister to be of a sad and discreet age, much more it becometh the higher. It is truth. But two things are without law, God and necessity. If God, to shew his power, shall shed out his grace more upon youth than upon age at a time, who shall let him? Women be no meet vessels to rule or to preach, (for both are forbidden them) yet hath God endowed them with his Spirit at sundry times, and shewed his power and goodness upon them, and wrought wonderful things by them, because he would not have them despised. We read that women have judged all Israel, and have been great prophetesses, and have done mighty deeds. Yea, and if stories be true, women have preached since the opening of the New Testament.

Note.

Women.

God poureth his Holy Spirit, and endoweth with wisdom and learning, as well women as men.

Do not our women now christen and minister the sacrament of baptism in time of need? Might they not by as good reason preach also, if necessity required? If a woman were driven into some island, where Christ was never preached, might she there not preach him, if she had the gift thereto? Might she not also baptize? And why might she not, by the same reason, minister the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and teach them how to choose officers and ministers? O, poor women, how despise ye them! The viler the better welcome unto you. An whore had ye lever than an honest wife. If only shaven and anointed may do these things, then Christ did them not, nor any of his apostles, nor any man in long time after. For they used no such ceremonies.

Notwithstanding, though God be under no law, and necessity lawless; yet be we under a law, and ought to prefer the men before the women, and age before youth, as nigh as we can. For it is against the law of nature that young men should rule the elder, and as uncomely as that women should rule the men, but when need requireth. And, therefore, if Paul had had other shift, and a man of age as meet for the room, he would not have put Timothy in the office, he should no doubt have been kept

God is under no law, necessity lawless.

back until a fuller age, and have learned in the meantime in silence. And whatsoever thou be that readest this, I exhort thee in our Lord, that thou read both the Epistles of Paul to Timothy, that thou mayest see how diligently (as a mother careth for her child, if it be in peril) Paul writeth unto Timothy, to instruct him, to teach him, to exhort, to courage him, to stir him up, to be wise, sober, diligent, circumspect, sad, humble and meek, saying: These I write that thou mayest know how to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church or congregation. Avoid lusts of youth, beware of ungodly fables and old wives' tales, and avoid the company of men of corrupt minds, which waste their brains about wrangling questions. Let no man despise thine youth. As who should say, Youth is a despised thing of itself, whereunto men give none obedience or reverence naturally. See, therefore, that thy virtue exceed, to recompense thy lack of age, and that thou so behave thyself that no fault be found with thee. And again, Rebuke not an elder sharply, but exhort him as thy father, and young men as thy brethren, and the elder women as thy mothers, and the young women as thy sisters, and such like in every chapter. Admit none accusation against an elder under less than two witnesses. And Paul chargeth him in the sight of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his elect angels, to do nothing rashly or of affection. And shortly, whereunto youth is most prone and ready to fall, thereof warneth he him with all diligence, even almost or altogether half a dozen times of some one thing. And finally, as a man would teach a child that had never before gone to school, so tenderly and so carefully doth Paul teach him. It is another thing to teach the people, and to teach the preacher. Here Paul teacheth the preacher, young Timothy.

The cause why young Timothy was preferred by Paul to be a bishop.

Paul was a fatherly instructorto Timothy.

St. Paul was a worthy and most reverend father and instructor.

A great difference between teaching of the people, and teaching of a preacher.

And when he affirmeth that I say, how that the oiling and shaving is no part of the priesthood, that improveth he not, nor can do. And therefore I say it yet. And when he hath insearched the uttermost that he can, this is

Oiling nor shaving is any thing or any part of priesthood.

all that he can lay against me, that of an hundred there be not ten that have the properties which Paul requireth to to be in them. Wherefore, if oiling and shaving be no part of their priesthood, then evermore of a thousand, nine hundred at the least should be no priests at all. And quoth your friend, would confirm it with an oath, and swear deeply, that it would follow, and that it must needs so be. Which argument yet, if there were no other shift, I would solve after an Oxford fashion, with *Concedo consequentiam et consequens.* And I say moreover that their anointing is but a ceremony borrowed of the Jews, though they have somewhat altered the manner; and their shaving borrowed of the heathen priests; and that they be no more of their priesthood, than the oil, salt, spittle, taper and chrisom-cloth, of the substance of baptism. Which things, no doubt, because they be of their conjuring, they would have preached of necessity unto the salvation of the child, except necessity had driven them unto the contrary.

Oil, salt, and spittle are no parts of baptism.

And seeing that the oil is not of necessity, let M. More tell me what more virtue is in the oil of confirmation, inasmuch as the bishop sacreth the one as well as the other; yea, and let him tell the reason why there should be more virtue in the oil wherewith the bishop anointeth his priests. Let him tell you from whence the oil cometh, how it is made, and why he selleth it to the curates wherewith they anoint the sick, or whether this be of less virtue than the other.

Oil hath in it no virtue at all, though the bishop hallow it.

And finally, why used not the apostles this Greek word ἱερεύς, or the interpreter, this Latin word *sacerdos*, but alway this word *presbyteros* and *senior*, by which was at that time nothing signified but an elder? And it was no doubt taken of the custom of the Hebrews, where the officers were ever elderly men, as nature requireth. As it appeareth in the Old Testament, and also in the New. The scribes, pharisees, and the elders of the people, saith the text, which were the officers and rulers, so called by the reason of their age.

The ministers among the Jews were named elders, because of their age.

WHY HE USETH LOVE RATHER THAN CHARITY.

HE rebuketh me also that I translate this Greek word ἀγάπη into love, and not rather into charity, so holy and so known a term. Verily, charity is no known English, in that sense which *agape* requireth. For when we say, Give your alms in the worship of God, and sweet saint charity; and when the father teacheth his son to say Blessing, father, for saint charity; what mean they? In good faith they wot not. Moreover, when we say, God help you, I have done my charity for this day, do we not take it for alms? and, The man is ever chiding and out of charity, and I beshrew him saving my charity: there we take it for patience. And when I say, A charitable man, it is taken for merciful. And though mercifulness be a good love, or rather spring of a good love, yet is not every good love mercifulness. As when a woman loveth her husband godly, or a man his wife or his friend that is in none adversity, it is not always mercifulness. Also we say not, This man hath a great charity to God, but a great love. Wherefore I must have used this general term love, in spite of mine heart oftentimes. And *agape* and *charitas* were words used among the heathen ere Christ came, and signifies therefore more than a godly love. And we may say well enough, and have heard it spoken, that the Turks be charitable one to another, among themselves, and some of them unto the Christians too. Besides all this *agape* is common unto all loves.

Why Tyndale useth this word love rather than charity.

Charity hath divers significations.

Love is also diversly understood.

And when M. More saith, Every love is not charity: no more is every apostle Christ's apostle; nor every angel God's angel; nor every hope Christian hope; nor every faith or belief Christ's belief; and so by an hundred thousand words. So that if I should always use but a

Every love is not charity, nor every charity is not love.

word that were no more general than the word I interpret, I should interpret nothing at all. But the matter itself and the circumstances do declare what love, what hope, and what faith is spoken of. And, finally, I say not Charity God, or Charity your neighbour, but Love God, and Love your neighbour, yea, and though we say man ought to love his neighbour's wife and his daughter, a Christian man doth [not] understand that he is commanded to defile his neighbour's wife or his daughter.

WHY FAVOUR AND NOT GRACE.

Why Tyndale saith favour, and not grace.

AND with like reasons rageth he because I turn χάρις into favour, and not into grace, saying that Every favour is not grace, and that in some favour there is but little grace. I can say also in some grace there is little goodness. And when we say he standeth well in my lady's grace, we understand no great godly favour. And in universities many ungracious graces are gotten.

WHY KNOWLEDGE AND NOT CONFESSION, REPENTANCE AND NOT PENANCE.

Knowledge and not confession, repentance and not penance.

AND that I use this word knowledge and not confession, and this word repentance and not penance. In which all he cannot prove that I give not the right English unto the Greek word. But it is a far other thing that paineth them and biteth them by the breasts. There be secret pangs that pinch the very hearts of them, whereof they dare not complain. The sickness that maketh them so impatient is, that they have lost their juggling terms. For the doctors and preachers were wont to make many di-

visions, distinctions, and sorts of grace; *gratis data, gratum faciens, preveniens, and subsequens.* And with confession they juggled, and so made the people, as oft as they spake of it, understand shrift in the ear. Whereof the Scripture maketh no mention: no, it is clean against the Scripture as they use it and preach it, and unto God an abomination, and a foul stinking sacrifice unto the filthy idol *Priapus.* The loss of those juggling terms is the matter whereof all these bots breed, that gnaw them by the bellies and make them so unquiet.

The papists may not forbear to have their juggling terms.

And in like manner, by this word penance, they make the people understand holy deeds of their enjoining, with which they must make satisfaction unto Godward for their sins. When all the Scripture preacheth that Christ hath made full satisfaction for our sins to Godward, and we must now be thankful to God again, and kill the lusts of our flesh with holy works of God's enjoining, and to take patiently all that God layeth on my back. And if I have hurt my neighbour, I am bound to shrive myself unto him and to make him amends, if I have wherewith, and if not, then to ask him forgiveness, and he is bound to forgive me. And as for their penance, the Scripture knoweth not of. The Greek hath *Metanoia* and *Metanoite*, repentance and repent, or forethinking and forethink. As we say in English It forethinketh me, or I forethink; and I repent, or It repenteth me, and I am sorry that I did it. So now the Scripture saith, Repent, or let it forethink you, and come and believe the gospel or glad tidings that is brought you in Christ, and so shall all be forgiven you, and henceforth live a new life. And it will follow if I repent in the heart that I shall do no more so, willingly, and of purpose. And if I believed the gospel, what God hath done for me in Christ, I should surely love him again, and of love prepare myself unto his commandments.

Penance.

Penance was profitable to the papists.

True penance what it is.

Faith in Christ bringeth true repentance.

These things to be even so M. More knoweth well enough. For he understandeth the Greek, and he knew them long ere I. But so blind is covetousness and drunken

desire of honour. Gifts blind the eyes of the seeing, and
Deut. xvii. pervert the words of the righteous. (Deut. xvii.) When covetousness findeth vantage in serving falsehood, it riseth up into an obstinate malice against the truth, and seeketh all means to resist it and to quench it. As Ba-
Balaam. laam the false prophet, though he wist that God loved Israel, and had blessed them, and promised them great things, and that he would fulfil his promises, yet for covetousness and desire of honour, he fell into such malice against the truth of God, that he sought how to resist it and to curse the people. Which when God would not let him do, he turned himself another way and gave pestilent counsel to make the people sin against God; whereby the wrath of God fell upon them and many thousands perished. Notwithstanding God's truth abode fast and was fulfilled in the rest. And Baalam, as he was the cause that many perished, so escaped he not himself. No more did any that maliciously resisted the open truth against his own conscience, since the world began, that ever I read. For
The sin against the Holy Ghost. it is sin against the Holy Ghost, which Christ saith shall neither be forgiven here nor in the world to come: which text may thiswise be understood, that as that sin shall be punished with everlasting damnation in the life to come, even so shall it not escape vengeance here. As thou seest in Judas, in Pharaoh, in Balaam, and in all other tyrants which against their consciences resisted the open truth of God.

So now the cause why our prelates thus rage, and that moveth them to call M. More to help, is, not that they find just causes in the translation, but because they have lost
2 Pet. ii. their juggling and feigned terms wherewith Peter prophesied they should make merchandise of the people.

WHETHER THE CHURCH WERE BEFORE THE GOSPEL, OR THE GOSPEL BEFORE THE CHURCH.

The church before the gospel, or the gospel before the church.

ANOTHER doubt there is, whether the church or congregation be before the gospel or the gospel before the church. Which question is as hard to solve, as whether the father be elder than the son, or the son elder than his father. For the whole Scripture and all believing hearts testify that we are begotten through the word. Wherefore, if the word beget the congregation, and he that begetteth is before him that is begotten, then is the gospel before the church. Paul also (Rom. ix.) saith, How shall they call on him whom they believe not? And how shall they believe without a preacher? That is, Christ must first be preached ere men can believe in him. And then it followeth, that the word of the preacher must be before the faith of the believer. And therefore, inasmuch as the word is before the faith, and faith maketh the congregation, therefore is the word or gospel before the congregation. And again, as the air is dark of itself, and receiveth all her light of the sun; even so, are all men's hearts of themselves dark with lies, and receive all their truth of God's word, in that they consent thereto. And, moreover, as the dark air giveth the sun no light, but contrariwise the light of the sun in respect of the air is of itself, and lighteneth the air, and purgeth it from darkness: even so, the lying heart of man can give the word of God no truth; but contrariwise, the truth of God's word is of herself, and lighteneth the hearts of the believers, and maketh them true, and cleanseth them from lies, as thou readest, John xv. Ye be clean by reason of the word. Which is to be understood, in that the word had purged their hearts from lies, from false opinions, and from thinking evil good, and therefore from consenting to

Rom. ix.

The word which is the gospel, was before the church.

John xv.

John xvii. sin. And (John. xvii.) Sanctify them, O father, through thy truth: and thy word is truth. And thus thou seest that God's truth dependeth not of man. It is not true because man so saith or admitteth it for true: but man is true, because he believeth it, testifieth and giveth witness in his heart that it is true. And Christ also saith himself, (John v.) I receive no witness of man. For if the multitude of man's witness might make ought true, then were the doctrine of Mahomet truer than Christ's.

Note well this.

WHETHER THE APOSTLES LEFT OUGHT UNWRITTEN, THAT IS OF NECESSITY TO BE BELIEVED.

Whether the apostles taught any thing that they did not write.

BUT did not the apostles teach ought by mouth, that they wrote not? I answer, because that many taught one thing, and every man the same in divers places, and unto divers people, and confirmed every sermon with a sundry miracle; therefore, Christ and his apostles preached an hundred thousand sermons, and did as many miracles, which had been superfluous to have been all written. But the pith and substance in general of every thing necessary unto our souls' health, both of what we ought to believe, and what we ought to do, was written; and of the miracles done to confirm it, as many as were needful. So that whatsoever we ought to believe or do, that same is written expressly, or drawn out of that which is written.

So much is written as is necessary for our salvation.

For if I were bound to do or believe, under pain of the loss of my soul, any thing that were written, nor depended of that which is written, what holp me the Scripture that is written? And thereto, inasmuch as Christ and all his apostles warned us that false prophets should come with false miracles, even to deceive the elect if it were possible, wherewith should the true preacher confound the false,

The Scripture written, must confound the unwritten verities.

except he brought true miracles to confound the false, or else authentic Scripture of full authority already among the people?

Some man would ask, How did God continue his congregation from Adam to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham, and so to Moses, without writing, but with teaching from mouth to mouth? I answer, first, that there was no Scripture all the while, they shall prove, when our lady hath a new son. God taught Adam greater things than to write. And that there was writing in the world long ere Abraham, yea, and ere Noah, do stories testify.

Writing hath been from the beginning.

Notwithstanding, though there had been no writing, the preachers were even prophets glorious in doing of miracles, wherewith they confirmed their preaching. And beyond that, God wrote his Testament unto them alway, both what to do, and to believe, even in the Sacraments. For the sacrifices which God gave Adam's sons, were no dumb popery or superstitious Mahometry, but signs of the Testament of God. And in them they read the word of God, as we do in books, and as we should do in our Sacraments, if the wicked pope had not taken the significations away from us, as he hath robbed us of the true sense of all the Scripture. The testament which God made with Noah, that he would no more drown the world with water, he wrote in the Sacrament of the rainbow. And the appointment made between him and Abraham, he wrote in the sacrament of circumcision. And therefore, said Stephen (Acts vii.) He gave them the testament of circumcision. Not that the outward circumcision was the whole testament, but the sacrament or sign there. For circumcision preached God's word unto them, as I have in other places declared.

God from the beginning hath written his will in the hearts of his elect.

The pope hath taken from us the significations of the Sacraments

Acts vii.

But in the time of Moses, when the congregation was increased, that they must have many preachers, and also rulers temporal, then all was received in Scripture, insomuch, that Christ and his apostles might not have been

believed without Scripture for all their miracles. Wherefore, inasmuch as Christ's congregation is spread abroad into all the world much broader than Moses; and inasmuch as we have not the Old Testament only, but also the New, wherein all things are opened so richly, and all fulfilled that before was promised; and inasmuch as there is no promise behind of ought to be shewed more save the resurrection; yea, and seeing that Christ and all the apostles, with all the angels of heaven, if they were here, could preach no more than is preached of necessity unto our souls: how then should we receive a new article of the faith, without Scripture, as profitable unto my soul, when I had believed it, as smoke for sore eyes? What holp it me to believe that our lady's body is in heaven? what am I the better for the belief of purgatory? To fear men, thou wilt say. Christ and his apostles thought hell enough. And yet (besides that the fleshly imagination may not stand with God's word) what great fear can there be of that terrible fire which thou mayest quench almost for three half-pence?

There can no more be taught us than is contained in the Scriptures.

Purgatory.

And that the apostles should teach ought by mouth which they would not write, I pray you for what purpose? because they should not come into the hands of the heathen for mocking, saith M. More. I pray you what thing more to be mocked of the heathen could they teach, than the resurrection, and that Christ was God and man, and died between two thieves, and that for his death's sake all that repent and believe therein should have their sins forgiven them? Yea, and if the apostles understood thereby as we do, what madder thing unto heathen people could they have taught them that bread is Christ's body, and wine his blood? And yet all these things they wrote. And again, purgatory, confession in the ear, penance and satisfaction for sin to Godward, with holy deeds, and praying to saints with such like, as dumb sacraments and ceremonies, are marvellous agreeable unto the superstition of the heathen people, so that they needed not to abstain from writing

The heathen thought nothing more madder than the doctrine of the resurrection.

of them, for fear lest the heathen should have mocked them.

Moreover, what is it that the apostles taught by mouth, and durst not write? The sacraments? As for baptism and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ they wrote, and it is expressed what is signified by them. And also all the ceremonies and sacraments that were from Adam to Christ had significations; and all that are made mention of in the New Testament; wherefore, inasmuch as the sacraments of the Old Testament have significations; and inasmuch as the sacraments of the New Testament (of which mention is made that they were delivered unto us by the very apostles, at Christ's commandment) have also significations; and inasmuch as the office of an apostle is to edify in Christ; and inasmuch as a dumb ceremony edifieth not, but hurteth altogether (for if it preach not unto me, then I cannot but put confidence therein, that the deed itself justifieth me, which is the denying of Christ's blood); and inasmuch as no mention is made of them, as well as of other, nor is known what is meant by them; therefore, it appeareth that the apostles taught them not, but that they be the false merchandise of wily hypocrites. And thereto, priesthood was, in the time of the apostles, an office which if they would do truly it would more profit than all the sacraments in the world. And again, God's holinesses strive not one against another, nor defile one another. Their sacraments defile one another. For wedlock defileth priesthood more than whoredom, theft, murder, or any sin against nature.

The apostles taught nothing that they were afraid to write.

Sacraments have significations.

All the sacraments, taught either in the Old Testament or new, have significations.

The popish sacraments strive one against another.

They will haply demand where it is written, that women should baptize? Verily, in this commandment, Love thy neighbour as thyself, it is written, that they may and ought to minister not only baptism, but all other in time of need, if they be so necessary as they preach them.

And finally, though we were sure that God himself had given us a sacrament, whatsoever it were, yet if the signification were once lost, we must of necessity, either seek

Sacraments without significations, are not to be received.

up the signification or put some signification of God's word thereto, what we ought to do or believe thereby, or else put it down. For it is impossible to observe a Sacrament, without signification, but unto our damnation. If we keep the faith purely and the law of love undefiled, which are the significations of all ceremonies, there is no jeopardy to alter or change the fashion of the ceremony, or to put it down if need require.

WHETHER THE CHURCH CAN ERR.

Whether the church can err, or not.

THERE is another question, whether the church may err. Which, if ye understand of the pope and his generation, it is verily as hard a question as to ask whether he which hath both his eyes out, be blind or no; or whether it be possible for him that hath one leg shorter than another, to halt. But I said that Christ's elect church is the whole multitude of all repenting sinners that believe in Christ, and put all their trust and confidence in the mercy of God; feeling in their hearts, that God for Christ's sake loveth them, and will be, or rather is, merciful unto them, and forgiveth them their sins of which they repent; and that he forgiveth them also all the motions unto sin, of which they fear lest they should thereby be drawn into sin again. And this faith they have without all respect of their own deservings, yea, and for none other cause than that the merciful truth of God the Father, which cannot lie, hath so promised, and so sworn.

What the very church is, and what faith saveth.

By faith we are made the sons of God.

And this faith and knowledge is everlasting life; and by this we be born anew, and made the sons of God, and obtain forgiveness of sins, and are translated from death to life, and from the wrath of God unto his love and favour. And this faith is the mother of all truth, and bringeth with her the Spirit of all truth. Which Spirit purgeth us, as

from all sin, even so from all lies and error noisome and hurtful. And this faith is the foundation laid of the apostles and prophets whereon Paul saith (Eph. ii.) that we are built, and thereby of the household of God. And this faith is the rock whereon Christ built his congregation. Christ asked the apostles (Matt. xvi.) whom they took him for. And Peter answered for them all, saying, I say that thou art Christ the Son of the living God, that art come into this world. That is, We believe that thou art he that was promised unto Abraham, that should come, bless us, and deliver us. Howbeit, Peter yet wist not by what means. But now it is opened throughout all the world, that through the offering of his body and blood, that offering is a satisfaction for the sin of all that repent, and a purchasing of whatsoever they can ask, to keep them in favour. And that they sin no more. And Christ answered, Upon this rock I will build my congregation: that is, upon this faith. And against the rock of this faith, can no sin, no hell, no devil, no lies, nor error prevail.

Eph. ii.

Matt. xvi.

The offering of Christ's body and blood is the only satisfaction for our sins.

For whatsoever any man hath committed, if he repent and come to this rock, he is safe. And that this faith is the only way by which the church of Christ goeth unto God, and unto the inheritance of all his riches, testify all the apostles and prophets, and all the Scripture, with signs, and miracles, and all the blood of martyrs. And whosoever goeth unto God, and unto forgiveness of sins, or salvation, by any other way than this, the same is an heretic out of the right way, and not of Christ's church.

There is no way to salvation, but by Christ's death and passion.

For this knowledge maketh a man of the church. And the church is Christ's body, (Col. i.) and every person of the church it a member of Christ. (Eph. v.) Now it is no member of Christ that hath not Christ's spirit in it; (Rom. viii.) as it is no part of me, or member of my body, wherein my soul is not present, and quickeneth it. And then if a man be none of Christ's, he is not of his church.

Col. i.

Eph. v.

Rom. viii.

HOW A TRUE MEMBER OF CHRIST'S CHURCH SINNETH NOT, AND HOW HE IS YET A SINNER.

FURTHERMORE, he that hath this faith cannot sin, and therefore cannot be deceived with damnable errors. For by this faith we be (as I said) born of God. Now he that is born of God cannot sin, for his seed dwelleth in him, and he cannot therefore sin, because he is born of God, (1 John iii.) which seed is the Holy Ghost that keepeth a man's heart from consenting unto sin. And therefore, it is a false conclusion that M. More holdeth, how that a man may have a right faith joined with all kinds of abomination and sin.

1 John. iii.

Faith and sin cannot stand together.

And yet every member of Christ's congregation is a sinner, and sinneth daily, some more, and some less. For it is written, (1 John i.) If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. And again, If we say, we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us. And Paul (Rom. vii.) saith, That good which I would, that do I not, but that evil which I would not, that do I. So it is not I that do it (saith he) but sin that dwelleth in me. Thus are we sinners, and no sinners. No sinners, if thou look unto the profession of our hearts toward the law of God; on our repentance and sorrow that we have, both because we have sinned, and also because we be yet full of sin still; and unto the promises of mercy in our Saviour Christ; and unto our faith. Sinners are we, if thou look unto the frailty of our flesh, which is as the weakness of one that is newly recovered out of a great disease, by the reason whereof our deeds are imperfect. And by the reason whereof also, when occasions be great, we fall into horrible deeds, and the fruit of the sin which remaineth in our members breaketh out. Notwithstanding yet the Spirit leaveth us not, but rebuketh us, and bringeth us home again unto

1 John i.

All flesh doth sin.

our profession, so that we never cast off the yoke of God from our necks, neither yield up ourselves unto sin, for to serve it, but fight afresh, and begin a new battle.

HOW A CHRISTIAN MAN CANNOT ERR, AND HOW HE MAY YET ERR.

AND as they sin not, so they err not. And on the other side as they sin, so they err: but never unto death and damnation. For they never sin of purpose, nor hold any error maliciously, sinning against the Holy Ghost, but of weakness and infirmity. As good obedient children, though they love their father's commandments, yet break them oft, by the reason of their weakness. And as they cannot yield themselves bond unto sin, to serve it: even so, they cannot err in any thing that should be against the promises which are in Christ. And in other things their errors be not unto damnation, though they be never so great, because they hold them not maliciously. As now, if some, when they read in the New Testament of Christ's brethren, would think that they were our lady's children, after the birth of Christ, (because they know not the use of speaking of the Scripture or of the Hebrews, how that nigh kinsmen be called brethren, or haply they might be Josephs' children, by some first wife, neither can have any to teach him for tyranny that is so great,) yet could it not hurt him, though he died therein, because it hurteth not the redemption that is in Christ's blood. For though she had none but Christ, I am, therefore, never the more saved; neither yet the less, though she had had. And in such like, an hundred that pluck not a man's faith from Christ, they might err, and yet be nevertheless saved; no though the contrary were written in the gospel. For as in other sins, as soon as they be rebuked, they repent:

We sin of frailty and weakness.

We may err, and yet be saved.

even so here, as soon as they were better taught, they should immediately knowledge their error and not resist.

But they which maliciously maintain opinions against the Scripture, or that they cannot be proved by the Scripture; or such as make no matter unto the Scripture, and salvation that is in Christ, whether they be true or no; and for the blind zeal of them make sects; breaking the unity of Christ's church, for whose sake they ought to suffer all things; and rise against their neighbours, whom they ought to love as themselves, to slay them; such men, I say, are fallen from Christ, and make an idol of their opinions. For except they put trust in such opinions, and thought them necessary unto salvation, or with a cankered conscience went about to deceive, for some filthy purpose, they would never break the unity of faith, or yet slay their brethren. Now is this a plain conclusion, that both they that trust in their own works, and they also that put confidence in their own opinions, be fallen from Christ; and err from the way of faith that is in Christ's blood; and therefore are none of Christ's church, because they be not built upon the rock of faith.

Who they be, that err from the way of faith.

FAITH IS EVER ASSAILED AND FOUGHT WITHAL.

MOREOVER, this our faith which we have in Christ, is ever fought against, ever assailed and beaten at with desperation: not when we sin only, but also in all temptations of adversity, into which God bringeth us, to nurture us, and to shew us our own hearts, the hypocrisy and false thoughts that there lie hid, our almost no faith at all, and as little love, even then haply when we thought ourselves most perfect of all. For when temptations come, we cannot stand; when we have sinned, faith is feeble; when wrong is done us, we cannot forgive; in

Faith is ever assailed with desperation.

sickness, in loss of goods, and in all tribulations we be impatient; when our neighbour needeth our help, that we must depart with him of ours, then love is cold.

All power and readiness to do good, cometh of God, and not of ourselves.

And thus we learn and feel that there is no goodness nor yet power to do good, but of God only. And in all such temptations, our faith perisheth not utterly, neither our love and consent unto the law of God. But they be weak, sick, and wounded, and not clean dead. As a good child, whom the father and mother have taught nurture and wisdom, loveth his father and all his commandments, and perceiveth of the goodness shewed him, that his father loveth him, and that all his father's precepts are unto his wealth and profit, and that his father commandeth him nothing for any need that his father hath thereof, but seeketh his profit only, and therefore hath a good faith unto all his father's promises, and loveth all his commandments, and doth them with good will, and with good will goeth to school. And by the way, haply, he seeth company play, and with the sight is taken and ravished of his memory, and forgetteth himself, and standeth and beholdeth, and falleth to play also, forgetting father, and mother, all their kindness, all their laws, and his own profit thereto. Howbeit, the knowledge of his father's kindness, the faith of his promises, and the love that he hath again unto his father, and the obedient mind, are not utterly quenched, but lie hid, as all things do when a man sleepeth, or lieth in a trance. And as soon as he hath played out all his lusts, or been warned in the mean season, he cometh again unto his old profession. Neverthelater, many temptations go over his heart, and the law as a right hang-man tormenteth his conscience, and goeth nigh to persuade him that his father will cast him away and hang him, if he catch him; so that he is like, a great while, to run away, rather than to return unto his father again. Fear and dread of rebuke, and of loss of his father's love, and of punishment, wrestle with the trust which he hath in his father's goodness, and as it were give his faith a fall. But it riseth

A very good example.

The faithful though they slip, yet they fall not.

Faith in the goodness of God is our stay.

again as soon as the rage of the first brunt is past, and his mind more quiet. And the goodness of his father, and his old kindness cometh unto remembrance, either of his own courage, or by the comfort of some other. And he believeth that his father will not cast him away or destroy him, and hopeth that he will no more do so.

And upon that he getteth him home, dismayed. But not altogether faithless. The old kindnesses will not let him despair. Howbeit, all the world cannot set his heart at rest, until the pain be past, and until he have heard the voice of his father, that all is forgiven.

THE MANNER AND ORDER OF OUR ELECTION.

EVEN so goeth it with God's elect. God chooseth them first, and they not God, as thou readest John xv. And then he sendeth forth and calleth them, and sheweth them his good will which he beareth unto them, and maketh them see both their own damnation in the law, and also the mercy that is laid up for them in Christ's blood, and thereto what he will have them do. And then when we see his mercy, we love him again, and choose him and submit ourselves unto his laws, to walk in them. For when we err not in wit, reason and judgment of things, we cannot err in will and choice of things. The choice of a man's will doth naturally and of her own accord follow the judgment of a man's reason, whether he judge right or wrong. So that in teaching only resteth the pith of a man's living. Howbeit, there be swine that receive no learning but to defile it. And there be dogs that rent all good learning with their teeth. And there be pope-holy, which, following a righteousness of their own feigning, resist the righteousness of God in Christ. And there be that cannot attend to hearken unto the truth for

John xv.

If we consider how merciful God is unto us, we cannot choose but submit ourselves unto his laws.

rage of lusts, which when lusts abate, come and obey well enough.

Christian men must be patient.

And therefore, a Christian man must be patient and suffer long to win his brother to Christ, that he which attendeth not to day, may receive grace and hear to-morrow. We see some at their very latter end, when cold fear of death hath quenched the heat of their appetites, learn and consent unto the truth, whereunto, before they could give none care, for the wild rages of lusts that blinded their wits.

Mercy waiteth ever on the elect.

And though God's elect cannot so fall that they rise not again, because that the mercy of God ever waiteth upon them, to deliver them from evil, as the care of a kind father waiteth upon his son, to warn him and to keep him from occasions, and to call him back again if he be gone too far: yet they forget themselves ofttimes, and sink down into trances and fall asleep in lusts for a season. But as soon as they be awaked they repent and come again without resistance. God now and then withdraweth his hand and leaveth them unto their own strength, to make them feel that there is no power to do good but of God only, lest they should be proud of that which is none of theirs. God laid so sore a weight of persecution upon David's back that passed his strength to bear. So that he cried oft out of his Psalms, saying, that he had lived well, and followed the right way of God in vain. For the more he kept himself from sin, the worse it went with him, as he thought; and the better with his enemy Saul, the worse he was. Yet God left him not there, but comforted him, and shewed him things which before he wist not of, how that the saints must be patient, and abide God's harvest, until the wickedness of ungodly sinners be full ripe, that God may reap it in due season.

David.

The elect of God must have patience and be long sufferers.

God also suffered occasions, stronger than David, to fall upon him, and to carry him clean out of the way. Was he not ready for a churlish answer to have slain Nabal, and all the males of his house, so much as the child in the

God trieth his elect by suffering them to fall into temptation.

cradle? howbeit, God withheld him and kept him back from that evil, through the wisdom of Abigail. How long slumbered he, or rather how hard in sleep was he in the adultery of Bathsheba! And in the murder of her husband Uriah! but at both times as soon as he was rebuked, and his fault told him, he repented immediately, and turned again meekly. Now in all that long time, from the adultery of Bathsheba, until the prophet Nathan rebuked him, he had not lost his faith, nor yet his love unto the laws of God, no more than a man loseth his wits when he is asleep. He had forgot himself only, and had not maliciously cast off the yoke of God's commandments from off his neck. There is no man so good, but that there cometh a time upon him, when he feeleth in himself no more faith or love unto God, than a sick man ofttimes feeleth the taste of his meat which he eateth.

We may commit sin and yet not forget God.

The apostles being amazed with temptations forgat all Christ's miracles.

And in like manner the apostles of Christ at his passion were astonished and amazed, and in such a storm of temptations, for the sudden change from so great glory, into so vile and shameful death, that they had forgot all the miracles and all the words which he had told them before, how that he should be betrayed and delivered on the same manner unto death. Moreover, they never understood that saying of his death because their hearts were alway heavy, and overladen with earthly thoughts. For though they saw him raise up other, yet who should raise him up, when he were dead, they could not comprehend.

A great temptation laid upon the apostles.

Read what thou canst read, and thou shalt find no temptation like unto that from the creation of the world, or so great as it, by the hundred part. So that the wonderful sudden change and the terrible sight of his passion, and of his most cruel and most vile death; and the loss of whom they so greatly loved, that their hearts would fain have died with him; and the fear of their own death; and the impossibility that a man should rise again of his own power; so occupied their minds, and so astonished them and amazed them, that they could receive no comfort,

either of the Scripture, or of the miracles which they had seen Christ do; nor of the monitions and warnings wherewith he had warned them before; neither of the women that brought them tidings that he was risen. The sword of temptations, with fear, sorrow, mourning, and weeping, had deeply pierced their hearts, and the cruel sight had so cumbred their minds, that they could not believe, until Christ himself came, death put off and overcome: yea, and when they first saw him, they were astonished for wondering and joy together, that thoughts arose in their hearts, alas, Is this he or doth some spirit mock us? He was fain to let them feel him, and to eat with them, to strengthen their faith.

The apostles were very doubtful.

Howbeit there was none of them that was fallen in his heart from Christ. For as soon as the women brought word, Peter and John ran unto the sepulchre, and saw, and wondered, and would fain have believed that he was risen; and had longed for him; but could not believe, the wound of temptation being greater than that, that it could be healed with the preaching of a woman, without any other miracle.

Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, which while he yet lived, durst not be known of him, as soon as he was dead, begged his body and buried him boldly. And the women, as soon as it was lawful to work, prepared their anointments with all diligence. And the hearts of the disciples that went to Emmaus burned in their breasts to hear him spoken of.

Christ, his resurrection.

And Thomas had not forsaken Christ, but could not believe until he saw him; and yet desired and longed to see him, and rejoiced when he saw him, and for joy cried out My Lord, my God. There was none of them that ever railed on him, and came so far forth to say he was a deceiver, and wrought with the devil's craft all this while, and see whereto he is come in the end: we defy him and all his works, false wretch that he was, and his false doctrine also. And thereto must they have come at the last, when fear,

The Disciples were not without faith, but yet the same was very doubtful.

sorrow, and wondering had been past, if they had not been prevented and holp in the mean time.

Peter's faith failed not.

Yea, and Peter, as soon as he had denied Christ, came to himself immediately, and went out and wept bitterly for sorrow. And thus, ye see that Peter's faith failed not, though it were oppressed for a time: so that we need to seek no glosses for the text that Christ said to Peter, how that his faith should not fail. Yes, saith M. More, it faileth in himself, but was reserved in our lady.

Luke xxii.

But let us see the text and their gloss together. Christ saith (Luke xxii.) Simon, Simon, Satan seeketh you to sift you as men sift wheat; but I have prayed for thee that thy faith shall not fail: wherefore when thou art come unto thyself again strengthen thy brethren. Now put this wise gloss thereto, and see how they agree together! Simon, Satan seeketh to sift you as wheat, but I have prayed for thee, that my mother's faith shall not fail; wherefore when thou art come to thyself again, according as my prayer hath obtained for thee, that my mother's faith shall not fail, strengthen thy brethren. Now say ye, is not this a proper text and well framed together? Do ye not think there is as much wit in the head of mad Colins, as in the brains of such expositors?

A foolish gloss made by M. More.

WHETHER THE POPE AND HIS SECT BE CHRIST'S CHURCH OR NO.

1. Pope.

THAT the pope and his spirits be not the church may thiswise be proved. He that hath no faith to be saved through Christ, is not of Christ's church. The pope believeth not to be saved through Christ. For he teacheth to trust in holy works, for the remission of sins and salvation; as in the works of penance, enjoined in vows, in pilgrimage, in chastity, in other men's prayers and holy living; in friars and friars' coats, in saints' merits, and the

The pope and his sect are not the church of Christ

significations put out, he teacheth to believe in the deeds of the ceremonies, and of the sacraments ordained at the beginning, to preach unto us and to do us service, and not that we should believe in them and serve them. And a thousand such superstitiousnesses setteth he before us, instead of Christ to believe in; neither Christ nor God's word, neither honourable to God nor serviceable unto our neighbour, nor profitable unto ourselves for the taming of the flesh; which all are the denying of Christ's blood.

2.

Another reason is this. Whosoever believeth in Christ, consenteth that God's law is good. The pope consenteth not that God's law is good. For he hath forbidden lawful wedlock unto all his, over whom he reigneth as a temporal tyrant with laws of his own making, and not as a brother exhorting them to keep Christ's. And he hath granted unlawful whoredom unto as many as bring money. As through Dutchland, every priest, paying a gildren unto the archdeacon, shall freely and quietly have his whore, and put her away at his pleasure, and take another at his own lust. As they do in Wales, in Ireland, Scotland, France, and Spain. And in England, thereto, they be not few which have licences to keep whores, some of the pope, and some of their ordinaries. And when the parishes go to law with them to put away their whores, the bishop's officers mock them, poll them, and make them spend their thrifts, and the priests keep their whores still. Howbeit, in very deed, since they were rebuked by the preaching of Wickliffe, our English spiritualty have laid their snares unto men's wives to cover their abominations, though they bide not alway secret.

The pope in forbidding marriage to priests doth not consent that the law of God is good.

The pope licenseth whoredom which God forbiddeth.

3.

Thereto all Christian men, if they have done amiss, repent, when their faults be told them. The spiritualty repent not, but, of very lust and consent to sin, persecute both the Scripture, wherewith they be rebuked, and also them that warn them to amend, and make heretics of them and burn them. And besides that, the pope hath made a plain decree, in which he commandeth, saying, Though the pope sin never so grieviously, and draw with him to hell

The popish clergy are persecutors.

An abominable, wicked, and devilish decree.

by his ensample thousands innumerable, yet let no man be so hardy to rebuke him. For he is head over all and none over him, *Distinct. xl. Si Papa.*

4. Rom. xiii. And Paul saith (Rom. xiii.) Let every soul obey the higher powers that are ordained to punish sin. The pope will not, nor let any of his.

5. 1 Cor. v. And Paul chargeth (1 Cor. v.) If he that is a brother be an whore-keeper, a drunkard, covetous, an extortioner, or a railer, and so forth, that we have no fellowship with him; no, not so much as to eat in his company. But the pope with violence compelleth us to have such in honour, to receive the sacraments of them, to hear their masses, and to believe all they say; and yet they will not let us see whether they say truth or no. And he compelleth ten parishes to pay their tithes and offerings unto one such, to go and run at riot at their cost, and to do nought therefore. And a thousand such like doth the pope, contrary unto Christ's doctrine.

The pope is utterly against the doctrine of Christ.

THE ARGUMENTS WHEREWITH THE POPE WOULD PROVE HIMSELF THE CHURCH ARE SOLVED.

NOTWITHSTANDING, because, as they be all shaven, they be all shameless to affirm that they be the right church and cannot err, though all the world seeth that not one of them is in the right way, and that they have with utter defiance forsaken both the doctrine and living of Christ and of all his apostles; let us see the sophistry wherewith they would persuade it. One of their high reasons is this: The church, say they, was before the heretics, and the heretics came ever out of the church, and left it. And they were before all them which they now call heretics and Lutherans, and the Lutherans came out of them, &c. Wherefore they be the right church, and the other heretics indeed, as they be called. Well, I will likewise dispute.

Their first reason.

First, the right church was under Moses and Aaron, and so forth, in whose rooms sat the scribes and pharisees and high priests in the time of Christ. And they were before Christ. And Christ and his apostles came out of them, and departed from them, and left them. Wherefore the scribes, pharisees, and high priests were the right church, and Christ and his apostles and disciples, heretics, and a damnable sect! And so the Jews are yet in the right way and we in error. And of truth if their blind reason be good, then is their argument so too. For they be like, and are both one thing.

A like reason.

One argument confuted with another of like nature.

But inasmuch as the kingdom of God standeth not in words, as Paul saith, (1 Cor. iv.) but in power, therefore look unto the marrow and pith of the things self, and let vain words pass. Under Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was the church great in faith, and small in number. And as it increased in number, so it decreased in faith until the time of Moses. And out of those unbelievers God stirred up Moses, and brought them unto the faith right again. And Moses left a glorious church, both in faith and cleaving unto the word of God, and delivered them unto Joshua, Eleazer, Phineas, and Caleb.

The solution.

But as soon as the generation of them that saw the miracles of God were dead, they fell to idolatry immediately, as thou seest in the Bible. And God, when he had delivered them into captivity, for to chastise their wickedness, stirred them up a prophet evermore, to call them unto his testament again. And so he did well nigh an hundred times, I suppose, ere Christ came, for they never bode any space in the right faith. And against the coming of Christ, the scribes, pharisees, Caiaphas, Annas, and the elders, were crept up into the seat of Moses, Aaron, and the holy prophets and patriarchs, and succeeded them lineally, and had the Scripture of God, but even in captivity, to make merchandize of it, and to abuse it unto their own glory and profit. And though they kept the people from outward idolatry of worshipping of images with the heathen, yet they

The right faith did never long continue in the greater number of the church.

brought them into a worse inward idolatry of a false faith and trust in their own deeds and in vain traditions of their own feigning. And had put out the significations of all the ceremonies and sacraments of the Old Testament. And taught the people to believe in the works self, and had corrupted the scripture with false glosses. As thou mayest see in the gospel, how Christ warneth his disciples to beware of the leaven of the pharisees, which was their false doctrine and glosses. And in another place he rebuked the scribes and the pharisees, saying: Wo be to them, because they had taken away the key of knowledge, and had shut up the kingdom of heaven, and neither would enter in themselves nor suffer them that would. How had they shut it up? verily with their traditions and false glosses, which they had sewed to the Scripture in plain places, and in the taking away the meaning of the ceremonies and sacrifices, and teaching to believe in the work.

Matt. xvi.

Matt. xxiii.

Hypocrites are crept up into the seat of Christ and his apostles. 2 Pet. ii.

And our hypocrites are in like manner crept up into the seat of Christ and of his apostles, by succession; not to do the deeds of Christ and his apostles, but for lucre only, (as the nature of the wily fox is, to get him an hole made with another beast's labour) and to make merchandise of the people with feigned words, as Peter warned us before, and to do according as Christ and all his apostles prophesied, how they should beguile, and lead out of the right way, all them that had no love to follow and live after the truth.

The pope and his clergy have corrupted the Scriptures of God with their traditions.

And in like manner have they corrupted the Scripture, and blinded the right way with their own constitutions, with traditions of dumb ceremonies; with taking away the significations of the Sacraments, to make us believe in the work of the Sacraments first, whereby they might the better make us believe in works of their setting up afterward; and with false glosses which they have patched to the Scripture in plain places, to destroy the literal sense, for to set up a false feigned sense of allegories, when there is none such. And thereby they have stopt up the gates of

heaven, the true knowledge of Christ, and have made their own bellies the door. For through their bellies must thou creep, and there leave all that fall behind thee.

And such blind reasons as ours make against us, made they against Christ, saying: Abraham is our father; we be Moses' disciples; how knoweth he the understanding of the Scripture, seeing he never learned of any of us? only the cursed unlearned people that know not the Scripture believe in him. Look whether any of the rulers or pharisees do believe in him! John ii.

Wherefore, the Scripture, truly understood after the plain places and general articles of the faith, which thou findest in the Scripture, and the ensamples that are gone before, will alway testify who is the church. Though the pharisees succeeded the patriarchs and prophets, and had the Scripture of them, yet they were heretics, and fallen from the faith of them, and from their living. And Christ and his disciples, and John the Baptist, departed from the pharisees which were heretics, unto the right sense of the Scripture, and unto the faith and living of the patriarchs and prophets, and rebuked the pharisees. As thou seest how Christ calleth them hypocrites, dissimulers, blind guides, and painted sepulchres. And John called them the generation of vipers and serpents. Of John, the angel said unto his father (Luke i.) he shall turn many of the children of Israel unto their Lord God, which yet before John believed after a fleshly understanding in God, and thought themselves in the right way. And he shall turn the hearts of the fathers unto the children. That is, he shall, with his preaching and true interpreting of the Scripture, make such a spiritual heart in the children, as was in their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And he shall turn the disobedient unto the obedience of the righteous, and prepare the Lord a perfect people. That is, them that had set up a righteousness of their own, and were therefore disobedient unto the righteousness of faith, shall he convert from their blindness, unto the wisdom of

The Scriptures bear witness who are the right church.

Christ.

John Baptist.

Luke i.

The doctrine of John brought the heart of the Jews unto the right way.

them that believed in God, to be made righteous; and with those fathers, shall he give the children eagles' eyes to spy out Christ and his righteousness, and to forsake their own, and so to become perfect.

Our popish hypocrites have need of a John Baptist to convert them.

And after the same manner, though our popish hypocrites succeed Christ and his apostles, and have their Scripture, yet they be fallen from the faith and living of them, and are heretics, and had need of a John Baptist to convert them. And we depart from them unto the true Scripture, and unto the faith and living thereof, and rebuke them in like manner. And as they which depart from the faith of the true church are heretics, even so they that depart from the church of heretics and false feigned faith of hypocrites, are the true church; which thou shalt alway know by their faith examined by the Scripture and by their profession, and consent to live according unto the laws of God.

Those which depart from the faith of hypocrites are the true church.

ANOTHER ARGUMENT.

ANOTHER like blind reason they have, wherein is all their trust. As we come out of them and they not of us, so we receive the Scripture of them, and they not of us. How know we that it is the Scripture of God, and true, but because they teach us so? how can we believe, except we first believe that they be the church, and cannot err in any thing that pertaineth unto our soul's health? For if a man tell me of a marvellous thing, whereof I can have no other knowledge than by his mouth only, how should I give credence except I believe that the man were so honest that he could not lie, or would not lie? Wherefore, we must believe that they be the right church that cannot err, or else we can believe nought at all.

Their second reason.

Note here this popish argument.

This wise reason is their sheet anchor, and all their hold,

their refuge to fly unto, and chief stone in their foundation; whereon they have built all their lies, and all the mischief that they have wrought this eight hundred years. And this reason do the Jews lay unto our charge this day; and this reason doth chiefly blind them, and hold them still in obstinacy. Our spirits first falsify the Scripture to stablish their lies. And when the Scripture cometh to light, and is restored unto the true understanding, and their juggling spied, and they like to suffer shipwreck, then they cast out this anchor, they be the church and cannot err, their authority is greater than the Scripture, and the Scripture is not true, but because they say so and admit it. And therefore, whatsoever they affirm, is of as great authority as the Scripture.

The pope and his sect say they are the church, and cannot err.

Notwithstanding, as I said, the kingdom of heaven standeth not in words of man's wisdom, but in power and spirit. And therefore, look unto the ensamples of the Scripture, and so shalt thou understand. And of an hundred ensamples between Moses and Christ, where the Israelites fell from God, and were ever restored by one prophet or other, let us take one: even John the Baptist. John went before Christ to prepare his way, that is, to bring men unto the knowledge of their sins, and unto repentance, through true expounding of the law, which is the only way unto Christ. For except a man knowledge his sins, and repent of them, he can have no part in Christ. Of John, Christ saith, (Matt. xvii.) that he was Elias that should come, and restore all things. That is, he should restore the Scripture unto the right sense again, which the pharisees had corrupted with the leaven of their false glosses and vain fleshly traditions. He made crooked things straight, as it is written, and rough smooth. Which is also to be understood of the Scripture, which the pharisees had made crooked, wresting them unto a false sense with wicked glosses, and so rough that no man could walk in the way of them. For when God said, Honour father and mother, meaning, that we should obey them, and also help

The solution.

John Baptist was a true expositor of the law.

Matt. xvii.

The pharisees added false glosses to the Scripture.

them at their need, the pharisees put this gloss thereto, out of their own leaven, saying: God is thy father and mother. Wherefore, whatsoever need thy father and mother have, if thou offer to God, thou art held excused. For it is better to offer to God, than to thy father and mother, and so much more meritorious, as God is greater than they: yea, and God hath done more for thee than they, and is more thy father and mother than they. As ours now affirm, That it is more meritorious to offer to God and his holy dead saints, than unto the poor living saints. And when God had promised the people a Saviour, to come and bless them, and save them from their sins; the pharisees taught to believe in holy works to be saved by, as if they offered and gave to be prayed for. As ours, as oft as we have a promise to be forgiven at the repentance of the heart through Christ's blood shedding, put to, Thou must first shrive thyself to us of every syllable, and we must lay our hands on thine head and whistle out thy sins, and enjoin thee penance to make satisfaction. And yet art thou but loosed from the sin only that thou shalt not come into hell, but thou must yet suffer for every sin seven years in purgatory, which is as hot as hell, except thou buy it out of the pope. And if thou ask By what means the pope giveth such pardon? They answer, Out of the merits of Christ. And thus at the last they grant against themselves, that Christ hath not only deserved for us, the remission of our sins, but also the forgiveness of that gross and fleshly imagined purgatory, save thou must buy it out of the pope. And with such traditions they took away the key of knowledge, and stopped up the kingdom of heaven that no man could enter in.

The papistical doctrine.

Purgatory.

And as I said, they taught the people to believe in the deeds of the ceremonies which God ordained, not to justify, but to be signs of promises, by which they that believed were justified. But the pharisees put out the significations, and quenched the faith, and taught to be justified by the work, as ours have served us.

The pharisees and papists agree in the false interpreting of the Scriptures.

For our sacraments were once but signs, partly of what we should believe, to stir us up unto faith, and partly what we should do, to stir us up to do the law of God, and were not works to justify.

The sacraments are signs to faith.

Now make this reason unto John, and unto many prophets that went before him and did as he did; yea, and unto Christ himself and his apostles, and thou shalt find them all heretics, and the scribes and pharisees good men, if that reason be good. Therefore, thiswise thou mayest answer. No thanks unto the heads of the church, that the Scripture was kept, but unto the mercy of God. For as they had destroyed the right sense of it for their lucre sake, even so would they have destroyed it also, if they could, rather than the people should have come unto the right understanding of it, as they slew the true interpreters and preachers of it. And even so, no thanks unto our hypocrites that the Scripture is kept, but unto the bottomless mercy of God.

The pope will by his reason make Christ and all his apostles heretics.

For as they have destroyed the right sense of it with their leaven; and as they destroy daily the true preachers of it; and as they keep it from the lay-people, that they should not see how they juggle with it; even so would they destroy it also, could they bring it about, rather than we should come by the true understanding of it, were it not that God provided otherwise for us. For they have put the stories, that should in many things help us, clean out of the way, as nigh as they could. They have corrupt the legend and lives almost of all saints. They have feigned false books, and put them forth; some in the name of St. Jerome, some in the name of St. Augustine, in the name of St. Cyprian, St. Dionisia, and other holy men. Which are proved none of theirs, partly by the style and Latin, and partly by authentic stories. And as the Jews have set up a book of traditions called Talmud, to destroy the sense of the Scripture, unto which they give faith, and unto the Scripture none at all, be it never so plain, but say it cannot be understood, save by the

The pope and his sect would (if they could) destroy the Scripture, as well as they destroy the preachers thereof.

Talmud.

Duns. Talmud: even so have ours set up their Duns, their Thomas, and a thousand like draff, to stablish their lies, through falsifying the Scripture, and say that it cannot be understood without them, be it never so plain. And if a man allege an holy doctor against them, they gloss him out as they do the Scripture, or will not hear, or say the church hath otherwise determined.

Question answered. Now, therefore, when they ask us how we know it is the Scripture of God, ask them how John Baptist knew, and other prophets, which God stirred up in all such times as the Scripture was in like captivity under hypocrites? Did John believe that the scribes, pharisees and high priests, were the true church of God, and had his Spirit, and could not err? Who taught the eagles to spy out their prey? even so the children of God spy out their father; and Christ's elect spy out their Lord, and trace out the paths of his feet, and follow; yea, though he go upon the plain and liquid water, which will receive no step: and yet there they find out his foot: his elect know him, but the world knoweth him not. (John i.) If the world know him not, and thou call the world pride, wrath, envy, covetousness, sloth, gluttony, and lechery, then our spiritualty know him not. Christ's sheep hear the voice of Christ. (John x.) Where the world of hypocrites, as they know him not, even so the wolves hear not his voice, but compel the Scripture to hear them, and to speak what they lust. And, therefore, except the Lord of Sabbaoth hath left his seed, we had been all as Sodom and Gomorrah, said Isaiah. (chap. i.) And even so said Paul, in his time. And even so say we in our time, that the Lord of the hosts hath saved him seed, and hath gathered him a flock, to whom he hath given ears to hear that the hypocritish wolves cannot hear; and eyes to see that the blind leaders of the blind cannot see; and an heart to understand that the generation of poisoned vipers can neither understand nor know.

A good answer to be made to the papists.

John i.

John x.

Isaiah i.

Rom. ix.

Augustinus. If they allege St. Augustine, which saith, I had not

believed the gospel, except the authority of the church had moved me: I answer, as they abuse that saying of the holy man, even so they allege all the Scripture, and all that they bring for them, even in a false sense. St. Augustine, before he was converted, was an heathen man, and a philosopher, full of worldly wisdom, unto whom the preaching of Christ is but foolishness, saith Paul. (1 Cor. i.) And he disputed with blind reasons of worldly wisdom against the Christian. Nevertheless, the earnest living of the Christian, according unto their doctrine, and the constant suffering of persecution and adversity for their doctrine's sake, moved him, and stirred him to believe that it was no vain doctrine, but that it must needs be of God, in that it had such power with it. For it happeneth that they which will not hear the word at the beginning, are afterward moved by the holy conversation of them that believe. As Peter warneth Christian wives that had heathen husbands, that would not hear the truth preached, to live so godly, that they might win their heathen husbands with holy conversation. And Paul saith, How knowest thou, Christian wife, whether thou shalt win thine heathen husband? with holy conversation, meant he. For many are won with godly living, which at the first either will not hear, or cannot believe. And that is the authority that St. Augustine meant. But if we shall not believe, till the living of the spiritualty convert us, we be like to bide long enough in unbelief.

The true meaning of the works of St. Augustin.

1 Cor. i.

1 Pet iii.

1 Cor. vii.

And when they ask whether we received the Scripture of them? I answer, That they which come after receive the Scripture of them that go before. And when they ask whether we believe not that it is God's word by the reason that they tell us so? I answer, That there are two manner [of] faiths, an historical faith, and a feeling faith. The historical faith hangeth of the truth and honesty of the teller, or of the common fame and consent of many. As if one told me that the Turk had won a city, and I believed it, moved with the honesty of the man; now if there

There are two manner of faiths.

An historical faith.

come another that seemeth more honest, or that hath better persuasions that it is not so, I think immediately that he lied, and lose my faith again. And a feeling faith is, as if a man were there present when it was won, and there were wounded, and had there lost all that he had, and were taken prisoner there also. That man should so believe that all the world could not turn him from his faith. Then, even likewise, if my mother had blown on her finger, and told me that the fire would burn me, I should have believed her with an historical faith, as we believe the stories of the world, because I thought she would not have mocked me. And so I should have done, if she had told me that the fire had been cold, and would not have burned; but as soon as I had put my finger in the fire, I should have believed, not by reason of her, but with a feeling faith, so that she could not have persuaded me afterward the contrary. So now with an historical faith, I may believe that the Scripture is God's, by the teaching of them; and so I should have done, though they had told me that Robin Hood had been the Scripture of God. Which faith is but an opinion, and therefore abideth ever fruitless, and falleth away, if a more glorious reason be made unto me, or if the preacher live contrary.

A feeling faith.

John vi.

But of a feeling faith it is written, (John vi.) They shall be all taught of God. That is, God shall write it in their hearts with his Holy Spirit. And Paul also testifieth, (Rom. viii.) The Spirit beareth record unto our spirit, that we be the sons of God. And this faith is none opinion, but a sure feeling, and therefore ever fruitful. Neither hangeth it of the honesty of the preacher, but of the power of God, and of the Spirit; and, therefore, if all the preachers of the world would go about to persuade the contrary, it would not prevail, no more than though they would make me believe the fire were cold, after that I had put my finger therein.

Rom viii.

The true and sure feeling faith.

John iv.

Of this we have an ensample (John iv.) of the Samaritanish wife, which left her pitcher, and went into the city,

and said, Come, and see a man that hath told me all that ever I did, is not he Christ? And many of the Samaritans believed, because of the saying of the woman, how that he had told her all that ever she did, and went out unto him, and desired him to come in. Which faith was but an opinion, and no faith that could have lasted, or have brought out fruit; but when they had heard Christ, the Spirit wrought, and made them feel. Whereupon they came unto the woman, and said: We believe, not now because of thy saying, but because we have heard ourselves, and know that he is Christ, the Saviour of the world. For Christ's preaching was with power and spirit, that maketh a man feel and know and work too; and not as the scribes and pharisees preached, and as ours make a man ready to cast his gorge to hear them rave and rage as mad men. And, therefore, saith the Scripture, Cursed is he that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm; that is to say, his strength. And even so, Cursed is he that hath none other belief but because men so say. Cursed were he that had none other why to believe than that I say. And even so cursed is he that believeth only because the pope so saith, and so forth throughout all the men in the world.

The feeling faith doth far excel the historical faith.

Cursed is he that trusteth in man.

THE FAITH THAT DEPENDETH OF ANOTHER MAN'S MOUTH IS WEAK.

IF I have none other feeling in my faith than because a man so saith, then is my faith faithless and fruitless. For if I have none other feeling that lechery is sin than that the pope so preacheth, whom I see before my face set up in Rome a stews of twenty or thirty thousand whores, taking of every piece tribute yearly; and his bishops with all other his disciples following the ensample mightily; and

Lechery.

The abomination of the Romish church.

the pope therewith not content, but to set up thereto a stews of young boys, against nature, the committers of which sin be burnt at a stake among the Turks, as Moses also commandeth in his law.

Marriage forbidden and whordom allowed.

And the pope also to forbid all the spiritualty, a multitude of forty or fifty hundred thousand, to marry, and to give them license to keep every man his whore who so will. If, I say, I have none other feeling in my faith that lechery is sin than this man's preaching, I think my faith should be too weak to bear much fruit. How could I believe a man that would say he loved me, if all his deeds were contrary? I could not believe God himself that he loved me, if in all my tribulations I had of him none other comfort than those bare words.

Covetousness.

And in like manner if I had none other feeling in my faith that covetousness were sin, than that the spiritualty so saith, my faith could be but weak and fainty when I see how the pope with wiles hath thrust down the emperor, and how the bishops and prelates be crept up an high in in all regions above their kings, and have made them a several kingdom, and have gotten into their hands almost the one half of every realm, which they divide among themselves, giving no layman any part with them; and heaping bishopric upon bishopric, promotion upon promotion, benefice upon benefice, with unions and tot quots, robbing in every parish the souls of their food, and the poor of their due sustenance; yea, and some preaching that it were less sin to have two wives than two benefices, but while they be yet young and hot, and therefore think covetousness greater sin than lechery: which same, when they be waxed elder, and their complexion somewhat altered, think that covetousness is as small a sin as lechery and therefore take all that cometh. And if any man cast their preaching in their teeth, they answer that they be better learned and have seen further. If I say I have no other feeling that covetousness is sin, than the preaching of these holy fathers, my faith were built but upon a weak rock, or rather on the soft sand. And

Unions, tot quots.

The papists think lechery nor covetousness to be any sin.

therefore our defenders do right well to foam out their own shame, and to utter the secret thoughts of their hearts. For as they write so they believe. Other feeling of the laws of God and faith of Christ have they none, than that their God the pope so saith. And therefore as the pope preacheth with his mouth only, even so believe they with th eirmouth only whatsoever he preacheth without more ado, be it never so abominable, and in their hearts consent unto all their father's wickedness, and follow him in their deeds as fast as they can run.

As the pope teacheth with the mouth only, so the Papists believe with their mouth only.

The Turks being in number five times more than we are, knowledge one God, and believe many things of God, moved only by the authority of the elders, and presume that God will not let so great a multitude err so long time.

Turks.

And yet they have erred and been faithless these eight hundred years. And the Jews believe this day, as much as the carnal sort of them ever believed; moved also by the authority of their elders only, and think that it is impossible for them to err, being Abraham's seed, and the children of them to whom the promises of all that we believe were made. And yet they have erred and been faithless these fifteen hundred years. And we of like blindness believe only by the authority of our elders, and of like pride think that we cannot err being such a multitude. And yet we see how God in the Old Testament did let the great multitude err, reserving alway a little flock to call the other back again and to testify unto them the right way.

Jews.

The Turks and Jews believe that they cannot err, because they believe as their elders did.

God reserved a little flock.

HOW THIS WORD CHURCH HATH A DOUBLE INTERPRETATION.

Rom. ix. THIS is therefore a sure conclusion as Paul saith, (Rom. ix.) that not all they that are of Israel are Israelites; neither because they be Abraham's seed are they all Abraham's children, but they only that follow the faith of Abraham. Even so now none of them that believe with their mouths, moved with the authority of their elders only, that is, none of them that believe with M. More's faith, the pope's faith, and the devil's faith, which may stand (as M. More confesseth) with all manner [of] abominations, have the right faith of Christ or are of his church. But they only that repent and feel that the law is good, and have the law of God written in their hearts, and the faith of our Saviour Jesus, even with the Spirit of God. There is a carnal Israel and a spiritual. There is Isaac and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau. And Ishmael persecuted Isaac, and Esau Jacob, and the fleshly the spiritual. Whereof Paul complained in his time, persecuted of his carnal brethren, as we do in our time, and as the elect ever did and shall do till the world's end. What a multitude came out of Egypt under Moses, of which the Scripture testifieth that they believed, moved by the miracles of Moses, as Simon Magus believed by the reason of Philip's miracles. (Acts viii.) Nevertheless the Scripture testifieth that six hundred thousand of those believers perished through unbelief, and left their carcases in the wilderness and never entered into the land that was promised them. And even so shall the children of M. More's faithless faith, made by the persuasion of man, leap short of the rest which our Saviour Jesus Christ is risen unto. And therefore let them embrace this present world as they do, whose children they are though they hate so to be called.

Who they be that are of God's true church.

The fleshly persecute the spiritual.

Acts viii.

The children of this world are the papists.

And hereby ye see that it is a plain and an evident conclusion as bright as the sun's shining, that the truth of God's word dependeth not of the truth of the congregation. And therefore when thou art asked why thou believest that thou shalt be saved through Christ? and of such like principles of our faith? answer, thou wottest and feelest that it is true. And when he asketh how thou knowest that it is true? answer, because it is written in thine heart. And if he ask who wrote it? answer, the Spirit of God. And if he ask how thou camest first by it? tell him whether by reading in books or hearing it preached, as by an outward instrument, but that inwardly thou wast taught by the Spirit of God. And if he ask whether thou believest it not because it is written in books or because the priests so preach? answer no, not now, but only because it is written in thine heart, and because the Spirit of God so preacheth and so testifieth unto thy soul. And say, though at the beginning thou wast moved by reading or preaching, as the Samaritans were by the words of the woman, yet now thou believest it not any longer but only because thou hast heard it of the Spirit of God, and read it written in thine heart.

Questions.

Answers.

Answers to be made to captious papists.

John iv.

And concerning outward teaching, we allege for us Scripture older than any church that was this fourteen hundred years, and old authentic stories which they had brought asleep, wherewith we confound their lies. Remember ye not how in our own time of all that taught grammar in England, not one understood the Latin tongue? How came we then by the Latin tongue again? not by them, though we learned certain rules and principles of them, by which we were moved and had an occasion to seek further, but out of the old authors. Even so we seek up old antiquities out of which we learn, and not of our church, though we received many principles of our church at the beginning, but more falsehood than truth.

Teachers of grammar understood not the Latin tongue.

It hath pleased God of his exceeding love wherewith he loved us in Christ (as Paul saith) before the world was

made, and when we were dead in sin, and his enemies in that we did consent to sin and to live evil, to write with his Spirit two conclusions in our hearts, by which we understand all things: that is to wit the faith of Christ, and the love of our neighbours. For whosoever feeleth the just damnation of sin, and the forgiveness and mercy that is in Christ's blood, for all that repent and forsake it, and come and believe in that mercy, the same only knoweth how God is to be honoured and worshipped, and can judge between true serving of God in the Spirit, and false image serving of God with works. And the same knoweth that Sacraments, signs, ceremonies, and bodily things can be no service to God in his person, but memorials unto men, and a remembrance of the Testament wherewith God is served in the Spirit. And he that feeleth not that, is blind in his soul, and of our holy father's generation, and maketh God an image, and a creature, and worshippeth him with bodily service. And on the other side, he that loveth his neighbour as himself, understandeth all laws, and can judge between good and evil, right and wrong, godly and ungodly; in all conversation, deeds, laws, bargains, covenants, ordinances, and decrees of men; and knoweth the office of every degree, and the due honour of every person. And he that hath not that written in his heart is popish, and of the spiritualty which understandeth nothing save his own honour, his own profit, and what is good for himself only: and when he is as he would be, thinketh that all the world is as it should be.

The faith in Christ and love of our neighbours, is all that is required of a Christian man.

The use of signs and ceremonies.

OF WORSHIPPING, AND WHAT IS TO BE UNDERSTOOD BY THE WORD.

CONCERNING worshipping or honouring (which two terms are both one) M. More bringeth forth a difference, a distinction or division of Greek words, feigned of our schoolmen, which of late neither understood Greek, Latin, nor Hebrew, called *doulia*, *hyperdoulia* and *latria*. But the difference declareth he not, nor the properties of the words, but with confused terms leadeth you blindfold in his maze. As for *hyperdoulia* I would fain wete where he readeth of it in all the Scripture, and whether the worship done to his lord the cardinal's hat were *doulia*, *hyperdoulia*, or *idololatria*? And as for *doulia* and *latria*, we find them both referred unto God in a thousand places.

Worshipping and honouring are both one.

Therefore that thou be not beguiled with falsehood of sophistical words, understand that the words which the Scripture useth in the worshipping or honouring of God are these: love God, cleave to God, dread, serve, bow, pray and call on God, believe and trust in God, and such like. Which words all we use in the worshipping of man also, howbeit diversely, and the difference thereof doth all the Scripture teach.

The true words that express the honour of God.

God hath created us and made us unto his own likeness, and our Saviour Christ hath bought us with his blood. And therefore, are we God's possession of duty and right, and Christ's servants only, to wait on his will and pleasure, and ought therefore to move neither hand nor foot, nor any other member, either heart or mind, otherwise than he hath appointed. God is honoured in his own person, when we receive all things both good and bad at his hand, and love his law with all our hearts, and believe, hope, and long for all that he promiseth.

What it is to honour God.

The true honour of God.

What it is to honour rulers.

THE officers that rule the world in God's stead, as father, mother, master, husband, lord and prince, are honoured, when the law, which Almighty God hath committed unto them to rule with, is obeyed. Thy neighbour that is out of office, is honoured, when thou (as God hath commanded thee) lovest him as thyself, countest him as good as thyself, thinkest him as worthy of any thing as thyself, and comest lovingly to help him at all his need, as thou wouldest be holp thyself, because God hath made him like unto his own image, as well as thee, and Christ hath bought him as well as thee.

What it is to honour a man's neighbour.

What it is to dishonour God and dishonour our neighbour.

If I hate the law, so I break it in mine heart, and both hate and dishonour God the maker thereof. If I break it outwardly, then I dishonour God before the world, and the officer that ministereth it. If I hurt my neighbour, then I dishonour my neighbour and him that made him, and him also that bought him with his blood. And even so, if I hate my neighbour in mine heart, then I hate him that commandeth me to love him and him that hath deserved that I should at the leastway for his sake love him. If I be not ready to help my neighbour at his need, so I take his due honour from him, and dishonour him, and him that made him, and him also that bought him with his blood, whose servant he is. If I love such things as God hath lent me, and committed unto mine administration, so that I cannot find in mine heart to bestow them on the uses which God hath appointed me, then I dishonour God and abuse his creature in that I give more honour unto it than I should do, and then I make an idol of it, in that I love it more than God and his commandment, and then I dishonour my neighbour from whose need I withdraw it.

To deny to help my neighbour is to dishonour him.

To do that God forbiddeth is to dishonour God.

In like manner, if the officer abusing his power, compel the subject to do that which God forbiddeth, or to leave undone that which God commandeth, so he dishonoureth God, in withdrawing his servant from him, and maketh an idol of his own lusts, in that he honoureth them above God, and he dishonoureth his brother in that he abuseth

him contrary unto the right use which God hath created him for, and Christ hath bought him for, which is to wait on God's commandments. For if the officer be otherwise minded than this, the worst of these subjects is made by the hands of him that made me, and bought with the blood of him that bought me, and therefore, my brother, and I but his servant only, to defend him and to keep him in the honour that God and Christ hath set him, that no man dishonour him: he dishonoureth both God and man. And thereto, if any subject think any otherwise of the officer (though he be an emperor) than that he is but a servant only, to minister the office indifferently, he dishoureth the office and God that ordained it. So that all men, whatsoever degree they be of, are every man in his room, servants to other, as the hand serveth the foot and every member one another. And the angels of heaven are also our brethren and very servants for Christ's sake, to defend us from the power of the devils.

A true officer in the sight of God.

And finally, all other creatures that are neither angels nor man, are in honour less than man, and man is lord over them, and they created to serve him, as Scripture testifieth, and he not to serve them, but only, his Lord God and his Saviour Christ.

All creatures are ordained to serve man.

OF WORSHIPPING OF SACRAMENTS, CEREMONIES, IMAGES, RELICKS, AND SO FORTH.

NOW let us come to the worshipping, or honouring of sacraments, ceremonies, images, and relicks. First, images be not God, and therefore no confidence is to be put in them. They be not made after the image of God, nor are the price of Christ's blood, but the workmanship of the craftsman, and the price of money, and therefore inferiors to man.

Images.

Images are servants to man, and not man to images.

Wherefore of all right, man is lord over them, and the honour of them is to do man service, and man's dishonour it is to do them honourable service, as unto his better. Images then and relicks, yea, and as Christ saith, the holy day too, are servants unto man. And therefore, it followeth that we cannot, but unto our damnation put on a coat worth an hundred coats, upon a post's back, and let the image of God and the price of Christ's blood go up and down thereby naked. For if we care more to clothe the dead image made by man, and the price of silver, than the lively image of God, and price of Christ's blood, then we dishonour the image of God and him that made him, and the price of Christ's blood and him that bought him.

The use of creatures inferiors to man.

Wherefore the right use, office, and honour of all creatures inferiors unto man, is to do man service, whether they be images, relicks, ornaments, signs, or sacraments, holy days, ceremonies or sacrifices. And that may be on this manner and no doubt it so once was. If (for an ensample) I take a piece of the cross of Christ and make a little cross thereof and bear it about me, to look thereon with a repenting heart, at times when I am moved thereto, to put me in remembrance that the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed thereon, for my sins, and believe steadfastly that the merciful truth of God shall forgive the sins of all that repent for his death sake, and never think on them more: then it serveth me, and I not it, and doth me the same service as if I read the Testament in a book, or as if the preacher preached it unto me. And in like manner, if I make a cross in my forehead, in a remembrance that God hath promised assistance unto all that believe in him, for his sake that died on the cross, then doth the cross serve me, and I not it. And in like-manner, if I bear on me or look upon a cross of whatsoever matter it be, or make a cross upon me, in remembrance that whosoever will be Christ's disciple, must suffer a cross of adversity, tribulations, and persecution, so doth

The worshipping of the cross.

How a man may use images well.

the cross serve me and I not it. And this was the use of the cross once, and for this cause it was at the beginning set up in the churches.

The worshipping of images.

And so if I make an image of Christ, or of any thing that Christ hath done for me, in a memory, it is good and not evil until it be abused.

And even so, if I take the true life of a saint and cause it to be painted or carved, to put me in remembrance of the saint's life, to follow the saint as the saint did Christ, and to put me in remembrance of the great faith of the saint to God, and how true God was to help him out of all tribulation, and to see the saint's love towards his neighbour, in that he so patiently suffered so painful a death, and so cruel martyrdom to testify the truth for to save other, and all to strength my soul withal, and my faith to God and love to my neighbour, then doth the image serve me, and I not it. And this was the use of images at the beginning, and of relicks also.

Images and relicks at the first were well used, but now shamefully abused.

And to kneel before the cross unto the word of God which the cross preacheth, is not evil. Neither to kneel down before an image in a man's meditations to call the living of the saint to mind for to desire God of like grace to follow the ensample, is not evil. But the abuse of the thing is evil, and to have a false faith: as to bear a piece of the cross about a man, thinking that so long as that is about him, spirits shall not come at him, his enemies shall do him no bodily harm, all causes shall go on his side, even for bearing it about him, and to think that if it were not about him it would not be so; and to think, if any misfortune chance, that it came for leaving it off, or because this or that ceremony was left undone, and not rather because we have broken God's commandments, or that God tempteth us to prove our patience: this is plain idolatry: and here a man is captive, bond and servant unto a false faith, and a false imagination, that is neither God nor his word. Now am I God's only, and ought to serve nothing but God and his word. My body must serve the

False worshipping.

The abuse of images.

My body must serve the prince, and my neighbour, but my soul must serve God only.

rulers of this world, and my neighbour, (as God hath appointed it) and so must all my goods: but my soul must serve God only, to love his law and to trust in his promises of mercy in all my deeds. And in like manner it is that thousands, while the priest pattereth St. John's gospel in Latin over their heads, cross themselves with, I trow a legion of crosses, behind and before, and with reverence on the very arses, and (as Jack of napes when he claweth himself) pluck up their legs and cross so much as their heels and the very soles of their feet, and believe that if it be done in the time that he readeth the gospel (and else not) that there shall no mischance happen them that day, because only of those crosses. And where he should cross himself, to be armed and to make himself strong to bear the cross with Christ, he crosseth himself to drive the cross from him, and blesseth himself with a cross from the cross; and if he leave it undone, he thinketh it no small sin, and that God is highly displeased with him, and if any misfortune chance, thinketh it is therefore, which is also idolatry and not God's word. And such is the confidence in the place, or image, or whatsoever bodily observance it be: such is St. Agathe's letter written in the gospel time. And such are the crosses on palm-sunday made in the passion time. And such is the bearing of holy wax about a man. And such is, that some hang a piece of St. John's gospel about their necks. And such is to bear the names of God with crosses between each name about them. Such is the saying of gospels unto women in child-bed. Such is the limiter's saying of *In principio erat verbum* from house to house. Such is the saying of gospels to the corn in the field in the procession week that it should the better grow. And such is holy bread, holy water, and serving of all ceremonies and sacraments in general without signification. And, I pray you, how is it possible that the people can worship images, relicks, ceremonies and sacraments, save superstitiously, so long as they know not the true meaning, neither will the prelates suffer any man

St. John's gospel.

This is a true crossing that we should use.

A great number of superstitious baggages.

to tell them: yea, and the very meaning of some and right use no man can tell?

Riches bestowed on images or relicks.

And as for the riches that is bestowed on images and relicks, they cannot prove but that it is abominable, as long as the poor are despised and uncared for and not first served, for whose sakes, and to find preachers, offerings, tithes, lands, rents, and all that they have, was given the spiritualty. They will say we may do both. May or not may, I see that the one most necessary of both is not done: but the poor are bereaved of the spiritualty of all that was in time past offered unto them. Moreover, though both were done, they shall never prove that the sight of gold and silver and of precious stones should move a man's heart to despise such things after the doctrine of Christ. Neither can the rich coat help to move thy mind, to follow the ensample of the saint, but rather if he were pourtrayed as he suffered, in the most ungoodly wise. Which thing taken away, that such things with all other service, as sticking up candles, move not thy mind to follow the ensample of the saint, nor teach thy soul any godly learning: then the image serveth not thee, but thou the image, and so art thou an idolater, that is to say in English, a serve image. And thus it appeareth that your ungodly and belly doctrine; wherewith ye so magnify the deeds of your ceremonies, and of your pilgrimages, and offering for the deed itself, to please God and to obtain the favour of dead saints (and not to move you, and to put you in remembrance of the law of God and of the promises which are in his Son, and to follow the ensample of the saint); is but an exhorting to serve images, and so are ye image servers, that is, idolaters. And finally, the more devotion men have unto such deeds, the less they have unto God's commandment, insomuch, that they which be most wont to offer to images and to shew them, be so cold in offering to the poor, that they will scarce give them the scraps which must else be given dogs, or their old shoes, if they may have new brooms for them.

Objection.

Solution

To worship images is idolatry.

PILGRIMAGES.

True pilgrimage is to walk from place to place the better to serve God and to help my neighbour.

TO speak of pilgrimages, I say, that a christian man, so that he leave nothing undone at home that he is bound to do, is free to go whither he will, only after the doctrine of the Lord, whose servant he is, and not his own. If he go and visit the poor, the sick, and the prisoner, it is well done, and a work that God commandeth. If he go to this or that place, to hear a sermon, or because his mind is not quiet at home, or if because his heart is too much occupied on his worldly businesses by the reason of occasions at home, he get him into a more quiet and still place, where his mind is more abstract and pulled from worldly thoughts, it is well done. And in all these places, if, whatsoever it be, whether lively preaching, ceremony, relick, or image, stir up his heart to God, and preach the word of God, and the ensample of our Saviour Jesus more in one place than in another, that he thither go I am content. And yet he bideth a lord, and the things serve him, and he not them. Now whether his intent be so or no, his deeds will testify, as his virtuous governing of his house, and loving demeanour toward his neighbours: yea, and God's word will be alway in his heart, and in his mouth, and he every day perfecter than other.

For there can nothing edify man's soul, save that which preacheth him God's word. Only the word of God worketh the health of the soul. And whatsoever preacheth him that cannot but make him perfecter.

But to believe that God will be sought more in one place than in another, or that God will hear thee more in one place than in another, or more where the image is, then where it is not, is a false faith, and idolatry, or image service. For first God dwelleth not in temples made with hands. (Acts xvii.) Item, Stephen died for the contrary,

God dwelleth not in temples made with men's hands.

and proved it by the prophets. (Acts vii.) And Solomon in the viiith of the third of the Kings, when he had built his temple testified the same, and that he had not built it for God to dwell in, yea, and that God dwelleth not in the earth, but that he should out of heaven hear the prayers of them that prayed there. And the prophets did often testify unto the people that had such a false faith that God dwelt in the temple, that he dwelt not there. Moreover, God in his Testament bindeth himself unto no place, nor yet thee; but speaketh generally (concerning where and when) saying, (Psalm xlix.) In the day of the tribulation thou shalt call on me, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me. He setteth neither place nor time; but wheresoever and whensoever: so that the prayer of Job upon the dunghill was as good as Paul's in the temple. And when our Saviour saith (John xvi.) Whatsoever ye ask my father in my name, I will give it you, he saith not in this or that place, or this or that day; but wheresoever and whensoever, as well in the fields as in the town, and on the Monday, as on the Sunday. God is a spirit, and will be worshipped in the spirit. (John iv.) That is, though he be present every where, yet he dwelleth lively and gloriously in the minds of angels only, and hearts of men that love his laws, and trust in his promises. And wheresoever God findeth such an heart, there he heareth the prayer in all places and times indifferently. So that the outward place neither helpeth or hindereth except (as I said) that a man's mind be more quiet and still from the rage of worldly businesses, or that some thing stir up the word of God and ensample of our Saviour more in one place, than in another.

Psalm xlix.

John xvi.

John iv.

WHENCE IDOLATRY OR IMAGE SERVICE SPRINGETH.

NOW that thou mayest see whence all this idolatry or image service is sprung, mark a little, and then I will answer unto the arguments which these image-servers make against the open truth. All the ceremonies, ornaments, and sacrifices of the Old Testament were sacraments. That is to wete, signs preaching unto the people one thing or another. As circumcision preached unto them, that God had chosen them to be his people, and that he would be their God, and defend them, and increase and multiply them, and keep them in that land, and bless the fruits of the earth, and all their possessions. And on the other side it preached, how that they had promised God again to keep his commandments, ceremonies, and ordinances. Now when they saw their young children circumcised, if they consented unto the appointment made between God and them, moved by the preaching of that same, then they were justified thereby. Howbeit, the deed in itself, the cutting of the foreskin of the manchild's privy member justified them not, nor was a satisfaction for the child's sins; but the preaching only did justify them that received the faith thereof. For it was a badge given indifferently, as well unto them that never consented in their hearts unto God's law, as unto the elect, in whose hearts the law was written. And that this was the meaning of circumcision, may be proved many ways: But namely, by Paul, (Rom. ii.) where he saith, Circumcision is much worth, if thou keep the law, whose sign it was, and else not. And (Rom. iii.) where he saith that God did justify the circumcised of faith, (whose sign it was on the other side) and else not.

Sacraments.

Circumcision.

All the ceremonies of the old law were preachers to the people.

The Jews by faith were justified and not by the deeds of the law.

And the paschal lamb was a memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt only, and no satisfaction or offering for sin. Paschal Lamb.

And the offering of their first-fruits preached how they had received all such fruits of the hand of God, and that it was God that gave them that land, and that kept them in it, and that did bless and make their fruits grow. In token whereof, as unto a lord royal, they brought him the first ripe fruits of their harvest. Which remembrance, as long as it abode in their hearts, it moved them to love God again, and their neighbour, for his sake, as he so oft desired them. And out of this ceremony was fetched the blessing of our new ripe fruits for like purpose, though we have lost the signification. First fruits.

And their other offerings, as the sacrifice of doves, turtles, lambs, kids, sheep, calves, goats and oxen, were no satisfactions for sin, but only a sign and token, that at the repentance of the heart, through an offering to come, and for that seed's sake that was promised Abraham, their sins were forgiven them. Sacrifices.

And in like manner, the ornaments, and all other ceremonies, were either an open preaching, or secret prophesies, and not satisfactions or justifyings. And thus the works did serve them, and preach unto them, and they not the works, nor put any confidence therein. Ornaments. Works must serve us and not we the works.

FALSE WORSHIPPING.

BUT what did the children of Israel and the Jews? They let the significations of their ceremonies go, and lost the meaning of them, and turned them unto the works to serve them, saying that they were holy works commanded of God, and the offerers were thereby justified, and obtained forgiveness of sins, and thereby become good: as the parable of the pharisee and publican de-

Luke xviii. clareth. (Luke xviii.) And as it is to see in Paul, and throughout all the Bible: and became captive to serve, and put their trust in that which was neither God nor his word. And so the better creature against nature did serve the worse; whereof all likelihood God should have accepted their work, by the reason of them, if their hearts had been right, and not have accepted their souls for the blood's sake of a calf or sheep, for as much as a man is much better than a calf or sheep, as Christ testifieth. (Matt. xii.) For what pleasure should God have in the blood of calves, or in the light of our candles? His pleasure is only in the hearts of them that love his commandments.

The Jews became servants and captives to their works.

The blind reason of hypocrites. Then they went further in the imagination of their blind reason, saying, Inasmuch as God accepteth these holy works, that we be made righteous thereby, then it followeth that he which offereth most, is most righteous, and the best man: yea, and it is better to offer an ox than a sheep, because it is more costly. And so they strove who might offer most, and the priests were well apaid. Then went they further in their fleshly wisdom, saying: If I be good for the offering of a dove, and better for a sheep, and yet better for an ox, and so ever the better thing I offer, the better I am; oh, how accepted should I be, if I offered a man, and named him that I most loved! And upon that imagination, they offered their own children, and burnt them to ashes before images that they had imagined.

O blind and foolish imagination!

And to confirm their blindness, they laid for them (no doubt) the ensample of Abraham, which offered his son Isaac, and was so accepted, that God had promised him, how that in his seed all the world should be blessed. Hereof ye see unto what abomination blind reason bringeth a man, when she is destitute of God's word.

Holy day. And to speak of the sabbath (which was ordained to be their servant, and to preach, and to be a sign unto them, that God through his Holy Spirit and word did

sanctify them, in that they obeyed his commandments, and believed and trusted in his promises, and therefore were charged to leave working, and to come on the holy day, and hear the word of God, by which they were sanctified) unto it, also they became captive and bond to serve it; saying that they were justified by abstaining from bodily labour, (as ours think also) insomuch that though they bestowed not the holy day in virtue, prayer, and hearing the word of God, in alms-deed, in visiting the sick, the needy and comfortless, and so forth, but went up and down idly; yet whatsoever need his neighbour had, he would not have holp him on the sabbath day, as thou mayest see by the ruler of the synagogue, which rebuked Christ for healing the people on the holy day. (Luke xiii.)

Exod xxxi.

The sabbath day must serve us and not we the sabbath day.

How the sabbath day should be occupied.

Luke xiii.

And of like blindness they went and set out the brazen serpent, (which Moses commanded to be kept in the ark for a memory) and offered before it: thinking (no doubt) that God must be there present, for else how could it have healed the people that came not nigh it, but stood afar off, and beheld it only. And a thousand such madness did they.

The brazen serpent.

And of the temple, they thought that God heard them there better than any where else: yea, and he heard them no where save there. And, therefore, they could not pray but there, as ours can nowhere but at church, and before an image. For what prayer can a man pray, when the word of God is not in the temple of his heart? yea, and when such come to church, what is their prayer, and what is their devotion, save the blind image service of their hearts?

The temple.

Prayer without faith is not prayer.

But the prophets ever rebuked them for such faithless works, and for such false faith in their works. In the xlixth Psalm, saith the prophet, I will receive no calves of your houses, nor goats out of your folds; think ye that I will eat the flesh of oxen, or drink the blood of goats? And Isaiah saith in his first chapter, What care I for the multitude of your sacrifices? saith the Lord. I am full. I have no lust in

Psalm xlvi.

God despised the sacrifices of the unfaithful Jews.

the burnt-offerings of your rams, or in the fat of fat beasts, or blood of calves, lambs or goats: offer me no more such false sacrifice. And thereto your sweet incense is an abomination unto me. And thus he said, because of the false faith, and perverting the right use of them.

Fasting. And for their false fasting, not referring their fast unto the taming and subduing of their flesh unto the spirit, when they complained unto God, justifying themselves, and saying, How happeneth it, that we have fasted, and thou wouldst not look upon it, we have humbled our souls, and thou wouldst not know it? God answered them Isaiah lviii. by the prophet Isaiah, in the lviiith chapter, Behold, in Superstitious fasting doth God abhor. the day of your fast, ye do your own lusts, and gather up all your debts. And howsoever ye fast, ye nevertheless strive, and fight, and smite with fist cruelly. I have True fasting, what it is. chosen no such fast and humbling of soul, &c. But that ye loose wicked bonds, and let the oppressed go free, and to break bread unto the hungry, and to clothe the naked, and so forth.

Temple And concerning the temple, Isaiah saith, in his last chapter, What house will ye build for me, or in what place shall I rest? Heaven is my seat, and the earth my foot-stool. As who should say, I am too great for any Acts vii. place that ye can make, and (as Stephen saith, Acts vii. Acts xvii. and Paul, Acts xvii.) I dwell not in a temple made with hands.

HOW CEREMONIES SPRANG AMONG US.

UNDERSTAND also, (to see how we came into like blindness) that before the coming of Christ in the flesh, the Israelites and Jews were scattered throughout all the world, for their image-service, both east, west, south, and north, as ye read in the chronicles, how England was once full: so that there was no province or

great city in the world, where no Jews were: God so providing for the speedy preaching of the gospel among the heathen throughout the world. Now Christ, as he was promised, so was he sent, unto the Jews or Israelites. And what by Christ's preaching, and the apostles after his resurrection, there were innumerable Jews converted, haply an hundred thousand or more in Jerusalem and Jewry, and in the countries about, and abode still in the land. Then Paul rose up, and persecuted them in Jerusalem, and throughout all Jewry and Damascus, slaying all that he could catch, or making them forswear Christ. For fear of which persecution, they fled into all coasts, and preached unto the Jews that were scattered, proving that Jesus was Christ, the Saviour of the world, both by the Scripture, and also by miracles; so that a great part of the Jews came to the faith everywhere, and we heathen came in shortly after, and part abode still in unbelief, as unto this day.

Paul a cruel persecutor.

Many Jews were converted to the faith of Christ.

Now the Jews being born and bred up, rooted and noselled in ceremonies, as I have shewed, and as ye may better see in the Five books of Moses, if ye would read them, could but with great difficulty depart from them, as it is to see in all the Epistles of Paul, how he fought against them, and in process got the upper hand. And thereto the first that were christened, and all the officers and bishops of the church, even so much as the great god of Rome were Jews for the most part a great season.

And moreover, as Paul saith, (Rom. ix.) Not all that came of Israel are right Israelites, neither are all they Abraham's sons that are Abraham's seed. Why so? Because they followed not the steps of the faith of their grandfathers. Even so, not all they that were called, and also came unto the marriage which God the Father made between Christ his Son and all sinners, brought their marriage garment with them; that is to wete, true faith wherewith we be married unto Christ, and made his flesh

All that came of Israel are not Israelites.

Matt. xxii.

and his blood, and one spirit with him, his brethren and heirs with him, and the sons of God also. But many of them (to fulfil the saying of Christ, that the kingdom of heaven, which is the gospel, is like a net that catcheth good and bad) were driven into the net, and compelled to confess that Jesus was Christ, and that seed that was promised Abraham, and Messias that should come: not of any inward feeling that the Spirit of God gave them, neither of any lovely consent that they had unto the law of God, that it was good; mourning, both because they had broken it, and because also they had no power to fulfil it, and therefore to obtain mercy and power, came to Christ, and unto the Father, through him, with the heart of natural children, which receive all things freely of their father's bounteous liberality, and of love become servants unto their brethren, for their father's sake; but were compelled only with violence of the Scripture, which everywhere bare witness unto Christ, and agreed unto all that he did, and overcome also with the power of miracles that confirmed the same. That is to say, they came with a story faith, a popish faith, a faithless faith, and a feigned faith of their own making, and not as God in the Scripture describeth the faith, so believing in Christ, that they would be justified by their own deeds, which is the denying of Christ. As our papists believe, which, more mad than those Jews, believe nothing by reason of the Scripture, but only that such a multitude consent thereto, compelled with violence of sword, with fulfilling of the Scripture, and feigned lies. Which multitude yet is not the fifth part so many as they that consent unto the law of Mahomet. And, therefore, by their own arguments, the faith of the Turks is better than theirs. And their faith thereto may stand by their own confession, with all mischief, (as it well appeareth by them) and with yielding themselves to work all wickedness, with full delectation, after the ensample of the faith of their father the devil, and without repentance and consent unto the

The Jews came not to understanding of Christ of love, but were enforcedthere unto by the Scriptures.

The Turks are a far greater number than the papists.

law of God, that it is good. And the popish also do so believe in Christ, and so will be his servants, that they will be bound unto dumb ceremonies and dead works, putting their trust and confidence in them, and hoping to be saved by them, and ascribing unto them the thank of their salvation and righteousness.

And therefore because, as I said, the Jews, yea, and the heathen too, were so accustomed unto ceremonies, and because such a multitude came with a faithless faith, they went clean contrary unto the mind of Paul, and set up ceremonies in the New Testament, partly borrowing them of Moses, and partly imagining like, as ye now see, and called them sacraments, that is to say, signs (as it is plain in the stories) the sacrament of holy water, of holy fire, holy bread, holy salt, and so forth. And they gave them significations. As, holy water signifieth the sprinkling of Christ's blood for our redemption; which sacrament or sign, though it seem superfluous, (inasmuch as the sacrament of Christ's body and blood signifieth the same daily) yet as long as the signification bode, it hurted not. And the kissing of the pax was set up to signify, that the peace of Christ should be ever among us, one to love another after his ensample, as the word itself well declareth. For pax is as much to say as peace.

Ceremonies set up in the New Testament.

What holy water signifieth.

The pax.

And as for confirmation, it is no doubt but that it came this wise up, and that this was the use, which the word itself well declareth. We read in the stories, that they which were converted unto the faith of the age of discretion, were full taught in the law of God (as right is) and in the faith of our Saviour Jesus, yet they were baptized, and upon the profession or promising to keep that law and faith, were baptized. And then for the succour and help of young children, baptized before the age of discretion, to know the law of God and faith of Christ was confirmation instituted, that they should not be alway ignorant and faithless, but be taught the profession of their baptism. And this no doubt was the manner, as we may

Confirmation.

Confirmation, how it came first unto the church.

well gather by probable conjectures and evident tokens, when the children were of six or seven years old, their elders brought them unto the priest or deacon in every parish, which officer taught the children what their baptism meant, and what they had professed therein: that is to wit, the law of God and their duty unto all degrees, and the faith of our Saviour. And then, because it should not be neglect or left undone, an higher officer, as the archdeacon (for it hath not been as I suppose in the bishop's hands alway as now, neither were it meet) came about from parish to parish, at times convenient. And the priests brought the children unto him at eleven or twelve years old, before they were admitted to receive the Sacrament of Christ's body, haply. And he apposed them of the law of God and faith of Christ, and asked them, whether they thought that law good, and whether their hearts were to follow it? And they answered Yea.

The manner of confirming of children.

And he apposed them in the articles of our faith, and asked them, whether they put their hope and trust in Christ, to be saved through his death and merits? And they answered, Yea. Then confirmed he their baptism, saying, I confirm you; that is, I denounce and declare, by the authority of God's word, and doctrine of Christ, that ye be truly baptized within in your hearts, and in your spirits, through professing the law of God, and the faith of our Saviour Jesus, which your outward baptism doth signify; and thereupon I put this cross in your foreheads, that ye go and fight against the devil, the world and the flesh, under the standard of our Saviour, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen. Which manner I would to God, for his tender mercy, were in use this day.

This is a right confirmation.

But after that the devil was broken loose, and the bishops began to purchase, and the deacons to scratch all to them, and the spiritualty to climb on high; then, because the labour seemeth too tedious and painful to appose the children one by one, they asked the priests that presented

them only, Whether the children were taught the profession of their baptism? And they answered Yea. And so upon their words they confirmed them without apposing. So when they no longer apposed them, the priests no longer taught them, but committed the charge to their godfathers and godmothers, and they to the father and mother, discharging themselves by their own authority within half an hour.

The abuse of confirmation.

And the father and mother taught them a monstrous Latin Paternoster and an Ave and a Creed. Which gibberish every popinjay speaketh with a sundry pronunciation and fashion, so that one Paternoster seemeth as many languages, almost, as there be tongues that speak it. Howbeit, it is all one, as long as they understand it not. And in process, as the ignorance grew, they brought them to confirmation straight from baptism: so that now oftimes they be volowed and bishopped both in one day, that is, we be confirmed in blindness to be kept from knowledge for ever. And thus are we come into this damnable ignorance and fierce wrath of God, through our own deserving, because, when the truth was told us, we had no love thereto. And to declare the full and set wrath of God upon us, our prelates whom we have exalted over us, to whom we have given almost all we had, have persuaded the worldly princes (to whom we have submitted ourselves, and given up our power) to devour us up body and soul, and to keep us down in darkness, with violence of sword, and with all falsehood and guile. Insomuch, that if any do but lift up his nose to smell after the truth, they swap him in the face with a fire-brand, to singe his smelling; or if he open one of his eyes once to look toward the light of God's word, they blear and daze his sight with their false juggling: so that if it were possible, though he were God's elect, he could not but be kept down, and perish for lack of knowledge of the truth.

The fruits of ignorance.

Confirmation is made now a confirming in all superstition, ignorance, and popery.

The papististical tyranny.

And in like manner, because Christ had instituted the sacrament of his body and blood, to keep us in remem-

How the ceremonies about the ministration of the Lord's supper came first into the church.

brance of his body breaking, and blood shedding for our sins, therefore went they and set up this fashion of the mass, and ordained sacraments in the ornaments thereof to signify and express all the rest of his passion. The amice on the head is the kerchief that Christ was blindfolded with, when the soldiers buffeted him and mocked him, saying, Prophesy unto us who smote thee? But now it may well signify that he that putteth it on is blinded, and hath professed to lead us after him in darkness, according unto the beginning of his play. And the flap thereon is the crown of thorns. And the alb is the white garment that Herod put on him, saying, he was a fool because he held his peace and would not answer him. And the two flaps on the sleeves, and the other two on the alb beneath over against his feet behind and before, are the four nails. And the fanon on his hand, the cord that his hands were bound with; and the stool, the rope wherewith he was bound unto the pillar, when he was scourged; and the corporis-cloth, the sindon wherein he was buried; and the altar is the cross, or haply the grave, and so forth. And the casting abroad of his hands, the splaying of Christ upon the cross. And the light and sticking up of candles, and bearing of candles or tapers in procession haply signified this text, (Matt. 5.) Ye be the light of the world, and let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven. And the salt signifieth the wisdom of Christ's doctrine, and that we should therewith salt our deeds and do nothing without the authority of God's word. So that in one thing or other, what in the garments, and what in the gestures all his played, in so much that before he will go to mass, he will be sure to sell him, lest Judas's part should be left out.

Amice.

The flap on the amice.

The alb.

The flaps on the alb.

The fanon.

The stool.

The corporis-cloth.

The altar.

Candles.

Matt. 5.

Salt.

All ceremonies at the beginning had significations.

And so throughout all the sacraments, ceremonies or signs (three words of one signification) there were significations unto them at the beginning. And so long as it

was understood what was meant by them; and they did but serve the people, and preach one thing or another unto them, they hurted not greatly, though that the free servant of Christ ought not to be brought violently into captivity, under the bondage of traditions of men. As St. Austin complaineth in his days, how that the condition and state of the Jews was more easy than the Christians under traditions: so sore had the tyranny of the shepherds invaded the flock already in those days. And then what just cause have we to complain [of] our captivity now; unto whose yoke from that time hitherto, even twelve hundred years long, hath ever somewhat more weight been added to, for to keep us down, and to confirm us in blindness: howbeit, as long as the significations bode, they hurted not the soul, though they were painful unto the body. Nevertheless I impute this our grievous fall into so extreme and horrible blindness (wherein we are so deep and so deadly brought asleep) unto nothing so much as unto the multitude of ceremonies. For as soon as the prelates had set up such a rabble of ceremonies, they thought it superfluous to preach the plain text any longer, and the law of God, faith of Christ, love toward our neighbour, and the order of our justfying and salvation, forasmuch as all such things were played before the people's faces, daily in the ceremonies and every child wist the meaning: but got them unto allegories, feigning them every man after his own brain, without rule, almost on every syllable; and from thence unto disputing and wasting their brains about words; not attending the significations until at the last the lay people had lost the meaning of the ceremonies; and the prelates, the understanding of the plain text, and of the Greek, Latin, and specially of the Hebrew, which is most of need to be known, and of all phrases, the proper manner of speakings, and borrowed speech of the Hebrews.

Austin.

The state of the Jews more easy than the Christians under traditions.

Out of the ceremonies sprang the ignorance of the Scripture.

The multitude of ceremonies put away preaching.

Ceremonies are the chief cause of ignorance.

Remember ye not how within this thirty years and

The doctrine of Duns advanced.

The blind papists are enemies to all good learning and knowledge.

far less, and yet dureth unto this day, the old barking curs, Dun's disciples, and like draff called Scottists, the children of darkness, raged in every pulpit against Greek, Latin and Hebrew; and what sorrow the school-masters that taught the true Latin tongue had with them; some beating the pulpit with their fists for madness, and roaring out with open and foaming mouth, that if there were but one Terence or Virgil in the world, and that same in their sleeves and a fire before them, they would burn them therein, though it should cost them their lives; affirming that all good learning decayed, and was utterly lost since men gave them unto the Latin tongue? yea, and I dare say that there be twenty thousand priests curates this day in England, and not so few, that cannot give you the right English unto this text in the Paternoster, *Fiat voluntas tua sicut in cælo et in terra*, and answer thereto.

Ignorant priests.

And as soon as the signification of the ceremonies was lost, and the priests preached Christ no longer, then the common people began to wax mad, and out of their minds upon the ceremonies. And that trust and confidence which the ceremonies preached, to be given unto God's word and Christ's blood, that same they turned unto the ceremony itself, as though a man were so mad to forget that the bush at the tavern door did signify wine to be sold within, but would believe that the bush itself would quench his thirst. And so they became servants unto the ceremonies, ascribing their justifying and salvation unto them, supposing that it was nothing else to be a christian man, than to serve ceremonies, and him most Christian that most served them; and contrariwise, him that was not popish and ceremonial, no Christian man at all. For I pray you, for what cause worship we our spiritualty so highly, or wherefore think we their prayers better than the poor lay men's, than for their disguisings and ceremonies? Yea, and what other virtue see we in the holiest of them, than to wait upon dumb superstitious ceremonies?

Ignorance made us servants to ceremonies.

Yea, and how cometh it that a poor layman having wife and twenty children, and not able to find them, though all his neighbours know his necessity, shall not get with begging for Christ's sake in a long summer's day enough to keep them two days honestly; when, if a disguised monster come, he shall, with an hour's lying in the pulpit, get enough to find thirty or forty sturdy lubbers a month long, of which the weakest shall be as strong in the belly when he cometh unto the manger, as the mightiest porter in the weigh house, or best courser that is in the king's stable. Is there any other cause than disguising and ceremonies? For the deeds of the ceremonies, we count better than the deeds which God commandeth to be done to our neighbour at his need; who thinketh it as good a deed to feed the poor, as to stick up a candle before a post, or as to sprinkle himself with holy water? neither is it possible to be otherwise, as long as the signification is lost. For what other thing can the people think, than that such deeds be ordained of God, and because as it is evident, they serve not our neighbour's need; to be referred unto the person of God, and he, though he be a spirit, yet served therewith? And then he cannot but forth on dispute in his blind reason, that as God is greater than man, so is that deed that is appointed to serve God, greater than that which serveth man. And that when it is not possible to think them ordained for nought, what can I otherwise think than that they were ordained to justify; and that I should be holy thereby, according to the pope's doctrine, as though God were better pleased when I sprinkled myself with water, or set up a candle before a block; than if I fed or clothed, or holp at his need him whom he so tenderly loveth, that he gave his own son unto the death for him, and commandeth me to love him as myself?

The idle papists are preferred by ceremonies.

As long as we had the signification of the ceremonies, so long they were sufferable; but the signification being gone, the ceremony is mere superstition.

And when the people began to run that way, the prelates were glad, and holp to heave after with subtle allegories and falsifying the Scripture; and went and hallowed

When the people by ignorance waxed su-

pertitious, then the clergy holp them forward with falsifying the Scripture.

the ceremonies, to make them more worshipful, that the lay people should have them in greater estimation and honour; and to be afraid to touch them for reverence unto the holy charm that was said over them, and affirmed also that Christ's death had purchased such grace unto the ceremonies to forgive sin, and to justify. O monster, Christ's death purchased grace for man's soul, to repent of evil, and to believe in Christ for remission of sin, and to love the law of God, and his neighbour as himself, which is the true worshipping of God in the spirit, and he died not to purchase such honour unto unsensible things, that man to his dishonour should do them honourable service, and receive his salvation of them.

Christ's death purchased grace for man's soul.

This I have declared unto you, that ye might see and feel every thing sensibly. For I intend not to lead you in darkness. Neither though twice two cranes make not four wild geese, would I therefore that he should believe that twice two made not four. Neither intend I to prove unto you, that Paul's steeple is the cause why Thames is broke in about Erith, or that Tenterden steeple is the cause of the decay of Sandwich haven, as M. More jesteth. Nevertheless, this I would were persuaded unto you (as it is true) that the building of them and such like, through the false faith that we have in them, is the decay of all the havens in England, and of all the cities, towns, high-ways, and shortly of the whole commonwealth. For since these false monsters crope up into our consciences, and robbed us of our Saviour Christ, making us believe in such pope-holy works; and to think that there was none other way unto heaven, we have not ceased to build them abbies, cloisters, colleges, chauntries, and cathedral churches with high steeples, striving and envying one another, who should do most. And as for the deeds that pertain unto our neighbours, and unto the commonwealth, we have not regarded at all, as things which seemed no holy works, or such as God

Tenterden steeple.

The building of abbies, cloisters, and religious houses have been a great decay to the good state of this realm.

would not once look upon. And therefore we left them unseen to, until they were past remedy, or past our power to remedy them, inasmuch as our slow bellies with their false blessings had juggled away from us, that wherewith they might have been holpen in due season. So that the silly poor man (though he had haply no wisdom to express his mind, or that he durst not, or that M. More fashioneth his tale as he doth other men's to jest out the truth,) saw that neither Goodwin sands nor any other cause alleged was the decay of Sandwich haven, so much as the people had no lust to maintain the commonwealth, for blind devotion which they have to pope-holy works.

THE SOLUTIONS AND ANSWERS UNTO M. MORE'S FIRST BOOK.

IN the first chapter, to begin the book withal, to bring you good luck, and to give you a say or a taste, what truth shall follow, he feigneth a letter sent from no man.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

Worshipping.

IN the second chapter, besides that it is untrue, this use to have been ever since the time of the apostles, he maketh many sophistical reasons about worshiping of saints, relicks, and images, and yet declareth not with what worship, but juggleth with the term in common, as he doth with this word church, and this word faith, when the words have divers significations: for all faiths are not one manner [of] faith, and so forth, and therefore he beguileth a man's understanding. As if a man said, The boy's will was good to have given his father a blow, and another would infer, that a good will could be no sin, and conclude that a man might lawfully smite

Subtle juggling and words.

his father. Now is good will taken in one sense in the major, and in another in the minor, to use scholars' terms, and therefore the conclusion doth mock a man's wit. Then disputeth he, the servant is honoured for the master's sake, and what is done to the poor is done to Christ, (as the popish shall once feel for their so robbing them) And the twelve apostles shall have their seats and sit and judge with Christ, (as shall all that here preach him truly as they did,) and Mary, that poured the ointment on Christ's head before his passion, hath her memorial, and therefore we ought to set candles before images. First I ask him by what rule his argument holdeth? And secondarily I answer, that the true worshipping of saints is their memorial: to follow them as they did Christ. And that honour we give them, and so do not ye papists, but follow the steps of your father the pope, as he doth the steps of his father the devil. And as for sticking up of candles, I answer, that God is a Spirit, and in the Spirit must be worshipped only. Faith to his promises, and love to his laws, and longing for the life that is in his Son, are his due honour and service.. All bodily service must be referred unto ourselves, and not unto the person of God immediately. All outward things which we receive of God are given us, to take our parts with thanks, and to bestow the rest upon our neighbours. For God useth no such things in his own person, but created them for to give them us, that we should thank him, and not to receive them of us, to thank us: for that were our praise and not his. Fasting, watching, woolward going, pilgrimage, and all bodily exercise must be referred unto the taming of the flesh only. For as God delighteth not in the taste of meat, drink, or in the sight of gold or silver, no more doth he in my fast and such like, that I should refer them unto his person, to do him a pleasure withal. For God in himself is as good as he can be, and hath all the delectation that he can have. And therefore to wish that God were better

True worshipping of saints.

True worshipping of God.

Bodily exercise.

than he is, or had more pleasure than he hath, is of a worldly imagination.

And all the spirits that be in heaven are in as good case as they can be, and have all the delectation they can have, and therefore to wish them in a better case, or to study to do them more pleasure than they have, is fleshly-minded popishness. The pleasure of them that be in heaven is, that we hearken to God and keep his commandments, which when we do, they have all the pleasure that they can have in us. If in this life I suffer hell gladly, to win my brother, to follow God, how much more if I were in heaven should I rejoice that he so did? If in this world when I have need of my neighbour, by the reason of mine infirmities, yet I seek nought of him, save his wealth only, what other thing should I seek of him, if I were in heaven, where he can do me no service, nor I use any pleasure that he can do me?

They that are in heaven do chiefly desire that we hearken to God, and do his will.

THE devil desired to have his imaginations worshipped as God, and his popish children desire the same, and compel men so to honour them, and of their devilish nature describe they both God and his saints. And therefore I say, all such fleshly imaginations, as to fast the Wednesday in the worship of St. John, or of St. Catharine, or what saint it be, or to fast saints' eves, or to go a pilgrimage unto their images, or to offer to them, to do them pleasure, thinking thereby to obtain their favour and to make special advocates of them, as a man would win the favour of another with presents and gifts, and thinking that if we did it not, they would be angry, are plain idolatry and image service, for the saint delighteth in no such. And when thou stickest up a candle before the image, thou mightest with as good reason make an hollow belly in the image and pour in meat and drink. For as the saint neither eateth nor drinketh, so hath he no bodily eyes to delight in the light of a candle.

All popish imaginations are idolatry.

Candles.

Another is this, God giveth not the promises that are

We recieve all things of God our Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, his Son and our only Saviour.

in Christ for bodily service, but of his mercy only, unto his own glory. Yea and of the father's goodness do all natural children receive. Ask a little boy who gave him his gay coat? he answereth, his father. Ask him why? and he answereth, because he is his father, and loveth him, and because he is his son. Ask him whether his father love him? and he saith Yea. Ask him how he knoweth it? and he saith, because he giveth him this, or that. Ask him whether he love his father? he saith, Yea. Ask him why? he saith, for his father loveth him, and giveth him all thing. Ask him, why he worketh? he answereth, his father will so have it. Ask him, why his father giveth not such and such boys coats too? Nay, saith he, they be not his sons, their fathers must give them as mine doth me. Go now, ye popish bond-servants, and receive your reward for your false works, and rob your brethren, and reign over them with violence and cruel tyranny; and make them worship your pillars, poleaxes, images, and hats. And we will receive of the merciful kindness of our Father, and will serve our brethren freely of very love, and will be their servants, and suffer for their sakes. And thereto our good deeds which we do unto our neighbour's need, spring out of our righteousness or justifying, which is the forgiveness of our sins in Christ's blood, and of other righteousness know we not before God. And contrariwise, your righteousness or justifying which standeth, as your faith doth, with all wickedness, springeth out of your holy works, which ye do to no man freely, save unto painted posts.

We must do all things of love.

Sacrifices.

And when he alleged the sacrifices of the old law, I say they were sacraments, and preached unto the people, (as no doubt, our candles once were) and were no holy works to be referred unto God's person to obtain his favour, and to justify the people, and that the people should do them for the works' selves. And when the people had lost the significations, and looked on the holiness of the deeds to be justified thereby; they were image ser-

vice, and hateful to God, and rebuked of the prophets, as it is to see throughout all the Old Testament.

Then he juggleth with a text of St. Paul (Rom. xiv.) Let every man for his part abound, one in this idolatry and another in that: when the sense of the text is, Let every man be sure of his own conscience, that he do nothing except he know well, and his conscience serve him, that it may be lawfully done. But what care they to abuse God's word and to wrest it unto the contrary? Rom. xiv.

And in the last end, to utter his excellent blindness, he saith: The wise man, Luther, thinketh that if the gold were taken from the relicks, it would be given unto the poor immediately; when he seeth the contrary, that they which have their purses full, will give the poor, (if they give aught) either an half penny, or in his country the fourth part of a farthing. Now I ask M. More's conscience, seeing they have no devotion unto the poor, which are as Christ's own person, and for whom Christ hath suffered his passion, that we should be kind to them, and whom to visit with our alms is God's commandment; with what mind do they offer so great treasure to the garnishing of shrines, images, and relicks? It is manifest that they which love not God's commandment, can do nothing godly. Wherefore such offerings come of a false faith, so that they think them better than works commanded by God, and believe to be justified thereby. And therefore are they but image service. A sure token of a false faith.

And when he saith, We might as well rebuke the pouring of the anointment on Christ's head: nay, Christ was then mortal as well as we, and used such things as we do, and it refreshed his body. But, and if thou wouldest now pour such on his image to do him pleasure, I would rebuke it. A difference between Christ's natural body, and a painted image.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

Miracles.

IN the third chapter he bringeth in miracles done at St. Stephen's tomb. I answer that the miracles done at saints' tombs were done for the same purpose that the miracles which they did when they were alive were done; even to provoke unto the faith of their doctrine, and not to trust in the place, or in bones, or in the saint. As Paul sent his napkin to heal the sick, not that men should put trust in his napkin, but believe his preaching.

Miracles were done by the saints to confirm their doctrine.

Elias.

And in the Old Testament, Elias healed Naaman the heathen man in the water of Jordan; not to trust in the water, or to pray in that place, but to wonder at the power of God, and to come and believe, as he also did. And that his bones, when he was dead, raised up a dead man, was not done that men should pray to him, for that was not lawful then, by their own doctrine; neither to put their trust in his bones. For God to avoid all such idolatry, had polluted all dead bones, so that whosoever touched a dead bone, was unclean, and all that came in his company until he had washed himself; insomuch that if a place were abused with offering unto idols, there was no better remedy than to scatter dead bones there, to drive the people thence, for being defiled and polluted. But his bones did that miracle, to testify that he was a true prophet, and to move men unto the faith of his doctrine.

Dead bones may not be worshiped.

And even so miracles done at the holy cross were done to move men unto faith of Him that died thereon, and not that we should believe in the wood.

Pilgrimages.

He saith that pilgrims put not trust in the place, as necromancers do in their circles, and saith he wotteth not what, to mock out the text of our Saviour of praying in the Spirit. And in the end he confoundeth himself saying, We reckon our prayers more pleasant in one place than in another. And that must be by the reason of the place, for God is as good in one place as in another, and

More reasoneth untowardly.

also the man. Moreover where a man pleaseth God best, thither is he most bound to go. And so that imagination bindeth a man to the place with a false faith, as necromancers trust in their circles.

God is like good in every place.

And again, if God had said that he would more hear in one place than in another, he had bound himself to the place. Now as God is like good every where generally, so hath he made his testament generally; wheresoever mine heart moveth me and am quiet to pray unto him, there to hear me like graciously.

Temple.

And if a man lay to our charge, that God bound them unto the tabernacle, and after to the temple in the Old Testament; I say that he did it not for the place's sake, but for the monuments and testimonies that there preached the word of God unto them; so that though the priests had been negligent to preach, yet should such things that there were, have kept the people in the remembrance of the testament made between God and them. Which cause, and such like only, should move us to come to church, and unto one place more than another. And as long as I come more to one place than another because of the quietness, or that something preacheth God's word more lively unto me there than in another, the place is my servant, and I not bound to it: which cause and such like taken away, I cannot but put trust in the place as necromancers do in their circles, and am an image server, and walk after mine own imagination and not after God's word.

The people were specially called to the temple to behold the monuments there, whereby they might the better learn the mighty power of God.

Paschal lamb.

1 Cor. v.

And when he saith, We might as well mock the observance of the paschal lamb; I answer, Christ our paschal lamb is offered for us, and hath delivered us, as Paul saith, (1 Cor. v.) whose sign and memorial is the sacrament of his body and blood. Moreover we were not delivered out of Egypt. And therefore inasmuch as we be overladen with our own, I see no cause why we should become Jews, to observe their ceremonies too.

And when he saith, Holy strange gestures; I answer,

Holy strange gestures is like an ape's play.

for the holiness I will not swear, but the strangeness I dare well avow. For every priest maketh them of a sundry manner, and many more madly than the gestures of jack-an-apes. And when he saith that they were left from hand to hand since the apostles' time, it is untrue. For the apostles used the sacrament as Christ did, as thou

1 Cor. xi.

mayest see 1 Cor xi. Moreover the apostles left us in the light and taught us all the counsel of God, as Paul witnesseth Acts xx. and hid nothing in strange holy gestures, and ape's play, the significations whereof no man might understand.

Pity.

And a Christian man is more moved to pity, saith he, at the sight of the cross than without it. If he take pity as Englishmen do, for compassion, I say, that a Christian man is moved to pity when he seeth his brother bear the

The true beholding of the sign of the cross.

cross. And at the sight of the cross, he that is learned in God, weepeth not with ignorant women, as a man doth for his father when he is dead; but mourneth for his sins, and, at the sight of the cross comforteth his soul with the consolation of Him that died thereon. But there is no sight, whether of the cross, or aught else, that can move you to leave your wickedness, for the testament of God is not written in your hearts.

The church is a place of prayer.

God heareth our prayer in all places.

And when he speaketh of praying at church; who denieth him that men might not pray at church, or that the church should not be a place of prayer? But that a man could not pray save at church, and that my prayers were not heard as well elsewhere, if I prayed with like ferventness and strong faith, is a false lie.

Acts xvii.

Acts vii.

3 Reg. viii.

And when he speaketh of the presence of God in the temple; I answer, that the prophets testified how that he dwelt not there, and so doth Paul, (Acts xvii.) and so doth Stephen, (Acts vii.) and Solomon, iii. of the Kings viii. And no doubt as the mad Jews meant, he dwelt not there; and as we, more mad, suppose also. But he dwelled there only in his signs, sacraments, and testimonies, which preached his word unto the people. And

finally for their false confidence in the temple, God destroyed it. And no doubt for our false faith in visiting the monuments of Christ, therefore hath God also destroyed them and given the place under the infidels.

Jerusalem and the temple is destroyed.

And when he speaketh of the pillar of fire and cloud, I answer, that God was no otherwise present there than in all fire and in all clouds, save that he shewed his power there specially by the reason of the miracle, as he doth in the eyes of the blind whom he maketh see, and yet is no otherwise present in those eyes than in other, nor more there to be prayed to than in other. And in like manner he is no more to be prayed to where he doth a miracle than where he doth none. Neither though we cannot but be in some place, ought we to seek God in any place, save only in our hearts, and that in verity, in faith, hope, and love or charity, according to the word of his doctrine.

The pillar of fire.

God is present in all places alike.

And our sacraments, signs, ceremonies, images, relicks and monuments, ought to be had in reverence, so far forth as they put us in mind of God's word, and of the ensample of them that lived thereafter, and no further.

And the place is to be sought, and one to be preferred before another, for quietness to pray, and for lively preaching, and for the preaching of such monuments and so forth. And so long as the people so used them in the Old Testament, they were acceptable and pleasant to God, and God was said to dwell in the temple. But when the significations being lost, the people worshipped such things for the things' selves, as we now do, they were abominable to God, and God was said to be no longer in the temple.

All places are to be preferred where we may worship God most quietly.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

M. More teacheth false doctrine.

AND in the fourth he saith, that God setteth more by one place than another. Which doctrine besides that it should bind us unto the place, and God thereto, and cannot but make us have confidence in the place, is yet false. For first, God, unto whose word we may add nought, hath given no such commandment, nor made any such covenant. Neither is Christ here or there, saith the Scripture, but in our hearts is the place where God dwelleth by his own testimony, if his word be there.

Matt. xxiv.

Miracles were not done for the place, but for the people.

And when he proveth it, because God doth a miracle more in one place than in another, I answer, If God will do a miracle, it requireth a place to be done in. Howbeit he doth it not for the place but for the people's sakes whom he would call unto the knowledge of his name, and not to worship him more in one place than in another.

As the miracles done in Egypt, in the Red Sea, in mount Sinai, and so forth, were not done that men should go in pilgrimage unto the places to pray there, but to provoke them unto the true knowledge of God, that afterward they might ever pray in the Spirit, wheresoever they were. Christ also did not his miracles that men should pray in the places where he did them, but to stir up the people to come and hear the word of their souls' health. And when he bringeth the miracle of Siloam, I answer, that the said miracle, and that Christ sent the blind thither to receive his sight, were not done that men should pray in the pool: but the second miracle was so done to declare the obedient faith of the blind, and to make the miracle more known; and the first for the word of God that was preached in the temple, to move the country about to come thither and learn to know God, and to become a lively temple, out of which they might ever pray, and in all places. Neither was the miracle of Lazarus done, that men should more pray in that place than in another,

Siloam.

John iv. & ii.

Miracles done to draw the people to hear the word of God.

but to shew Christ's power, and to move the people, through wondering at the miracle, to hearken unto God's word and believe it, as it is to see plainly.

All places must serve man, and not man bound to serve any place.

Moreover God so loveth no church, but that the parish have liberty to take it down and to build it in another place: yea and if it be timber to make it of stone, and to alter it at their pleasure. For the places, yea, and the images must serve us, and not God which is a Spirit, and careth for none more than other, nor is otherwise present in one place than in another. And likewise is it of saints' bones, we may remove them whither we will, yea, and break all images thereto, and make new, or if they be abused, put them out of the way for ever, as was the brazen serpent, so that we be lords over all such things, and they our servants. For if the saints were our servants, how much more their bones! It is the heart, and not the place, that worshippeth God. The kitchen page turning the spit may have a purer heart to God, than his master at church, and therefore worship God better in the kitchen than his master at church. But when will M. More be able to prove that miracles done at saints' tombs, were done that we should pray unto the saints, or that miracles done by dead saints, which alive neither preached God's word, nor could do miracle, are done of God?

God is worshiped in our hearts, and not in any other place.

The Father careth most for the youngest.

Eph. iv.

God loveth none angel in heaven better than the greatest sinner in earth that repenteth and believeth in Christ. But contrariwise, careth most for the weakest, and maketh all that be perfect their servants, until as Paul saith (Eph. 4.) they be grown up in the knowledge of God into a perfect man, and into the measure of age of the fulness of Christ; that is, that we know all the mysteries and secrets that God hath hid in Christ, that we be no more children, wavering with every wind of doctrine, through the subtilty and wiliness of men that come upon us to bring us into error or beguile us. So far it is of that he would have us kept down to serve

God cannot be served with bodily service.

images. For with bodily service we can serve nothing that is a spirit. And thereto if it were possible that all the angels of heaven could be mine enemies; yet would I hold me by the Testament that my merciful and true father hath made me in the blood of my Saviour, and so come unto all that is promised me, and Christ hath purchased for me, and give not a straw for them all.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

Our faith may be grounded upon men.

IN the fifth chapter he falleth from all he hath so long sweat to prove, and believeth, not by the reason of the miracles, but by the common consent of the church and that many so believe. This man is of a far other complexion than was the prophet Elias. For he believed alone as he thought, against the consent by all likelihood of nine or ten hundred thousand believers. And yet M. More's church is in no other condition under the pope, than was that church against whose consent Elias believed alone under the kings of Samaria.

THE SIXTH CHAPTER.

All true miracles provoke us to faith and trust in God.

IN the sixth chapter, and unto the eighteenth, he proveth almost nought save that which never man denied him, that miracles have been done. But how to know the true miracles from the false were good to be known, which we shall this wise do if we take those for true sacraments and ceremonies which preach us God's word, even so we count them true miracles only which move us to hearken thereto.

THE SIXTEENTH CHAPTER.

The maid of Ipswich.

CONCERNING his sixteenth chapter of the maid of Ipswich, I answer, that Moses warned his Israelites that false miracles should be done to prove them, whether their hearts were fair in the Lord. And even so Christ

and the apostles shewed us before, that lying miracles should come to pervert the very elect if it were possible. And therefore we must have a rule to know the true miracles from the false, or else it were impossible that any man should escape undeceived and continue in the true way. And other rule than this is there not: that the true are done to provoke men to come and hearken unto God's word, and the false to confirm doctrine that is not God's word. Now it is not God's word if thou read all the Scripture throughout, but contrary thereto, that we should put such trust and confidence in our blessed Lady as we do, and clean against the Testament that is in Christ's blood. Wherefore a man need not to fear, to pronounce that the devil did it to mock us withal.

True miracles are done to provoke us to the hearing of God's word, and the false do the contrary.

Neverthelater, let us compare the maid of Ipswich and the maid of Kent together. First, they say that the maid of Ipswich was possessed with a devil, and the maid of Kent with the Holy Ghost. And yet the tragedies are so like the one to the other in all points, that thou couldest not know the Holy Ghost to be in the one, and the devil in the other by any difference of works. But that thou mightest with as good reason say that the devil was in both, or the Holy Ghost in both, or the devil in the maid of Kent, and the Holy Ghost in the maid of Ipswich. For they were both in like trances, both ravished from themselves, both tormented alike, both disfigured, like terrible ugly and grissly in sight, and their mouths drawn aside even unto the very ears of them, both inspired, both preach, both tell of wonders, will be both carried unto our Lady, and are both certified by revelation that our Lady in those places and before those images should deliver them.

The maid of Kent.

The maid of Ipswich and the maid of Kent were both false dissembling harlots.

Now, as for the maid of Ipswich was possessed of the devil by their own confession, whence then came that revelation, that she should be holp and all her holy preaching? If of the devil, then was the miracle and all of the devil. If of the Holy Ghost, then was she in-

The maid of Kent.

spired with the Holy Ghost, and had the devil within her both at once. And inasmuch as the maid of Kent was inspired by the Holy Ghost by their confession, whence came that stopping of her throat, that raving, those grievous pangs, that tormenting, disfiguring, drawing of her mouth awry, and that fearful and terrible countenance? If of the Holy Ghost, and then why not the revel and gambols of the maid of Ipswich also? and then what matter maketh it whether a man have the devil or the Holy Ghost in him? If ye say of the devil, then had she likewise both the devil and the Holy Ghost both at once. Moreover, those possessed, which Christ helped, avoided Christ and fled from him, so that other which believed were fain to bring them unto him against their wills. For which causes, and many more that might be made, thou mayest conclude, that the devil vexed them and preached in them, to confirmed feigned confession and dumb ceremonies and sacraments without signification and damnable sects, and shewed them those revelations. And as soon as they were brought before our Lady's image, departed out of them, to delude us and to turn our faiths from Christ unto an old block. As we read in the Legend of St. Bartholomew, how the devils hurt men in their limbs, and as soon as they were brought into a certain temple before an idol, there they departed out of them, and so beguiled the people, making them believe that the idol had healed them of some natural diseases.

Such as were possessed with devils fled from Christ.

A false delusion to bring us to Idolatry.

St. Bartholomew.

Howbeit let it be the Holy Ghost that was in the maid of Kent. Then I pray you what thing worthy of so great praise hath our Lady done? Our Lady hath delivered her of the Holy Ghost, and emptied her of much high learning, which, as a goodly poetess, she uttered in rhimes. For appose her now of Christ, as Scripture testifieth of him, and thou shalt find her clean without rhime or reason. The maid was at home also in heavenly pleasures, and our Lady hath delivered her out of the joys of Orestes and brought her into the miseries of middle earth again.

Our Lady bid the maid of Kent small pleasure.

Orestes.

THE SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER.

As for Doulia, Hyperdoulia, and Latria, though he shew not with which of them he worshipped the Cardinal's hat, is answered unto him already.

THE EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER.

In the xviiith where he would fain prove that the pope's church cannot err, he allegeth things whereof he might be ashamed, if he were not past shame, to prove that the bishops have authority to lade us with traditions neither profitable for soul nor body. He bringeth a false allegory upon the overplus that the Samaritan, if it were laid out, promised to pay when he came again, for the bishops' traditions. Nay, M. More, besides that allegories which every man may feign at his pleasure, can prove nothing, Christ interpreteth it himself, that it betokeneth a kind mind and a loving neighbour, which so loved a stranger, that he never left caring for him, both absent as well as present, until he were full whole and common out of all necessity.

Traditions.

Allegories.

It signifieth that the prelates, if they were true apostles and loved us after the doctrine of Christ, would sell their mitres, crosses, plate, shrines, jewels and costly shows, to succour the poor and not rob them, of all that was offered unto them, as they have done: and to repair things fallen in decay and ruin in the commonwealth, and not to beggar the realms with false idolatry and image service, that they have not left them wherewith to bear the cost of the common charges.

A true exposition of the parable of the Samaritan.

And moreover when the scribes and pharisees taught their own doctrine, they sat not upon Moses's seat, but on their own. And therefore Christ, (so far it is of that he would have us hearken unto man's doctrine) said, Beware of the leaven of the scribes, pharisees, and sadducees, which is their doctrine; and rebuked them for their doc-

trine, and brake it himself, and taught his disciples so to do, and excused them, and said of all traditions, that whatsoever his heavenly Father had not planted should be plucked up by the roots. And thereto all the persecution that the apostles had of the Jews, was for breaking of traditions.

All that God hath not planted shall be plucked up by the roots.

Our prelates ought to be our servants as the apostles were, to teach us Christ's doctrine, and not lords over us, to oppress us with their own. Peter calleth it tempting of the Holy Ghost, (Acts xv.) to lade the heathen with aught above that which necessity and brotherly love required. And Paul rebuketh his Corinthians for their overmuch obedience, and the Galatians also, and warneth all men to stand fast and not to suffer themselves to be brought into bondage.

Bishops should be servants and not lords.

Acts xv.

And when he saith, Peter and Paul commanded us to obey our superiors; that is truth, they commanded us to obey the temporal sword which the pope will not. And they commanded to obey the bishops in the doctrine of Christ, and not in their own. And we teach not to break all things rashly, (as M. More untruly reporteth on us) which is to be seen in our books, if men will look upon them. Of traditions therefore understand generally: He that may be free is a fool to be bound. But if through wiliness thou be brought into bondage; then if the tradition hurt thy soul and thy faith, they are to be broken immediately, though with the loss of thy life. If they grieve the body only, then are they to be borne till God take them off, for breaking the peace and unity.

The pope will not obey princes, though God have commanded him so to do.

Traditions.

Then how sore maketh he Christ's burthen! If it be so sore, why is M. More so cruel to help the bishops to lade us with more? But surely he speaketh very undiscreetly. For Christ did not lade us with one syllable more than we were ever bound to, neither did he any thing but interpret the law truly. And besides that, he giveth unto all his, love unto the law: which love maketh all things easy to be borne, that were before impossible.

Christ's burthen is easy and gentle.

And when he saith, Ye be the salt of the earth; that it was spoken for the bishops and priests only, it is untrue; but it was spoken generally unto all that believe and know the truth, that they should be salt unto the ignorant, and the perfecter unto the weaker, each to other every man in his measure. And moreover if it be spoken unto the prelates only, how fortuneth it that M. More is so busy to salt the world with his high learning? And last of all the salt of prelates, which is their traditions and ceremonies without signification, is unsavoury long ago, and therefore no more worth, but to be cast out at the doors and to be trodden under foot.

Matt. v.

The salt of our prelates is unsavoury.

And that he saith in the end that a man may have a good faith with evil living, I have proved it a lie in another place. Moreover faith, hope, and love, be three sisters, they never can depart in this world, though in the world to come love shall swallow up the other two. Neither can the one be stronger or weaker than the other. But as much as I believe, so much I love, and so much I hope, yea, and so much I work.

Faith, love, and charity, are three sisters.

THE NINETEENTH CHAPTER.

IN the nineteenth, he proveth that praying to saints is good, and miracles that confirm it are of God, or else the church, saith he, doth err. It followeth indeed, or that the pope's church erreth. And when he saith it is sin to believe too much, I say, we had the more need to take heed what we believe, and to search God's word the more diligently, that we believe neither too much nor too little.

We must believe neither too much nor yet little.

And when he saith God is honoured by praying to saints because it is done for his sake: I answer, if it sprang not out of a false faith, but of the love we have to God, then should we love God more. And, moreover, inasmuch as all our love to God springeth out of faith, we should believe and trust God. And then if our faith in God were greater than our fervent devotion to saints, we

We are promised all things for our Saviour Christ's sake, and not for the saints.

should pray to no saints at all, seeing we have promises of all things in our Saviour Jesus, and in the saints none at all.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH CHAPTER.

IN the twenty-fifth how juggleth he, to prove that all that pertaineth unto the faith was not written, alleging John in the last, that the world could not contain the books, if all should be written. And John meaneth of the miracles which Jesus did, and not of the necessary points of the faith.

John xxi.

The virginity of our lady.

And how bringeth he in the perpetual virginity of our lady, which though it be never so true, is yet none article of our faith, to be saved by. But we believe it with a story faith, because we see no cause reasonable to think the contrary.

Antichrist is known.

And when he saith many mysteries are yet to be opened, as the coming of antichrist. Nay, verily, the babe is known well enough, and all the tokens spied in him, which the Scripture describeth him by.

Paul's traditions were the doctrine of the gospel.

And when he allegeth Paul's traditions to the Thessalonians to prove his phantasy, I have answered Rochester in the Obedience, that his traditions were the gospel that he preached.

And when he allegeth Paul to the Corinthians. I say that Paul never knew of this word Mass. Neither can man gather thereof any strange holy gestures, but the plain contrary; and that there was no other use there than to break the bread among them at supper as Christ did. And therefore he calleth it Christ's supper, and not Mass.

Christ's supper, and not mass.

The consecration.

There was learned the manner of consecration. A great doubt, as though we could not gather of the Scripture how to do it. And of the water that the priest mingleth with the wine. A great doubt also, and a perilous case if it were left out. For either it was done to

Water mixed with the wine.

slake the heat of the wine; or put to after as a ceremony, to signify that as the water is changed into wine, so are we changed through faith as it were into Christ, and are one with him; howbeit all is to their own shame, that aught should be done or used among us Christians, whereof no man wist the meaning. For if I understand not the meaning, it helpeth me not, 1 Cor. xiv. and as experience teacheth. But if our shepherds had been as well willing to feed as to shear, we had needed no such dispicience, nor they to have burnt so many as they have. 1 Cor. xiv.

And as for that he allegeth out of the Epistle of James for the justifying of works, I have answered in the Mammon, against which he cannot hiss, and will speak more in the four book. Justification of works.

And as for the Sabbath, a great matter, we be lords over the Sabbath, and may yet change it into the Monday or any other day as we see need; or may make every tenth day holy day only, if we see a cause why, we may make two every week if it were expedient, and one not enough to teach the people. Neither was there any cause to change it from the Saturday, than to put difference between us and the Jews, and lest we should become servants unto the day after their superstition. Neither needed we any holy day at all, if the people might be taught without it. Sabbath. The Sabbath-day and holy days are made for us, and not we for them.

And when he asketh by what Scripture we know that a woman may christen? I answer, if baptism be so necessary as they make it, then, Love thy neighbour as thyself doth teach women to baptise in time of need: yea and to teach, and to rule their husbands too, if they be beside themselves. Why women baptize.

And when he saith that of likelihood the lay people understood the Gospel of John, and Paul's Epistles better than great clerks now; I answer, the more shame is theirs. Howbeit there be two causes why: the one is their diligent shearing; and another, they deny the justifying of faith, whereof both Paul and John do entreat, and Why the prelates understand not the Scripture.

almost of nothing else. If the signification of our baptism which is the law of God and faith of Christ, were expounded truly unto us, the Scripture would be easy to all that exercised themselves therein. And, sir, inasmuch as the prelates care so little for the loss of the understanding of the Scripture, and to teach the people, how happeneth it that they care so sore for a bald ceremony, which, the signification lost, though Christ himself had institute it, we could not observe without a false faith, and without hurting of our souls?

A good tale if it were long enough.

And, finally, to rock us asleep withal, he saith, that he shall never speed well that will seek in the Scripture whether our prelates teach us a true faith, though ten preach each contrary to other in one day. And yet Christ for all his miracles sendeth us to the Scripture. And for all Paul's miracles, the Jews studied the Scripture the diligenterly, to see whether it were as he said or no. Howbeit he meaneth that such cannot speed well because the prelates will burn them, except M. More help them, and make them forswear Christ before hand.

Ye cannot speed well if ye try the doctrine of our prelates by the Scripture.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH CHAPTER.

In the twenty-seventh he bringeth Paul exhorting to agree, and to tell all one tale in the faith; which cannot be, saith M. More, except one believe by the reason of another. Yes verily we all believe the fire is hot, and yet not by the reason of another, and that with a more surer knowledge than if we believed it the one by the telling of another. And even so they that have the law of God written in their hearts, and are taught of the Spirit to know sin and to abhor it; and to feel the power of the resurrection of Christ, believe much surer than they that have none other certainty of their faith than the pope's preaching confirmed with so godly living.

All believe in God that have the law written in their hearts.

And it is not unknown to M. More that the churches of late days, and the churches now being, have determined

things in one case the one contrary to the other, in such wise that he cannot deny but the one hath or doth err: the which case I could shew him, if I so were minded. The old popes, cardinals, and bishops, said, Yea, to the thing that I mean; whereunto these that now reign, say Nay. Now, sir, if you gather a general council for the matter, the churches of France and Italy will not believe the churches of Spain and Dutchland, because they so say; but will ask how they prove it? Neither will Lovain believe Paris because they say they cannot err, but will hear first their probation. Also how shall we know that the old pope and his prelates erred, because these that are now so say? When the old pope lived we were as much bound to believe he could not err, as we be now that this cannot; wherefore you must grant me, that God must shew a miracle for the one part, or else he must bring authentic Scripture.

The church must shew a reason of their doctrine.

Popes may not be believed without Scripture.

Now, sir, God hath made his last and everlasting testament, so that all is open and no more behind than the appearing of Christ again. And because he will not stir up every day a new prophet with a new miracle, to confirm new doctrine, or to call again the old that was forgotten; therefore were all things necessary to salvation comprehended in Scripture ever to endure. By which Scripture the councils general, and not by open miracles, have concluded such things as were in them determined, as stories make mention. And by the same Scripture we know which councils were true, and which false. And by the same Scripture shall we, if any new question arise, determine it also. Abraham answered the rich man, They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them; and said not, They have the scribes and the pharisees whom they should hear preaching out of the seat of their own doctrine without Scripture.

Councils ought to conclude according to the Scriptures.

Luke xvi.

And when he allegeth, He that heareth you heareth me, and if any man hear not the church, take him for an heathen, concluding that we must believe whosoever is shaven,

Luke x.

Matt. xviii.

in all that he affirmeth without Scripture or miracle; I would fain know in what figure that syllogismus is made. Christ's disciples taught Christ's doctrine, confirming it with miracles, that it might be known for God's, and not theirs. And even so must the church that I will believe shew a miracle, or bring authentic Scripture that is come from the apostles which confirmed it with miracles.

THE TWENTY-NINTH CHAPTER.

IN the twenty-ninth he allegeth, that Christ said not the Holy Ghost shall write, but shall teach. It is not the use to say the Holy Ghost writeth, but inspireth the writer. I marvel that he had not brought, as many of his brethren do, Matthew in the last, where Christ commanded the apostles to go and teach all nations, and said not write. I answer, that this precept, Love thy neighbour as thyself, and God above all thing, went with the apostles, and compelled them to seek God's honour in us, and to seek all means to continue the faith unto the world's end. Now the apostles knew before that heresies should come, and therefore wrote, that it might be a remedy against heresies, as it well appeareth (John xx.) where he saith, These are written that ye believe, and through belief have life. And in the second of his first Epistle he saith, These I write because of them that deceive you. And Paul and Peter thereto warn us in many places. Wherefore it is manifest that the same love compelled them to leave nothing unwritten that should be necessarily required, and that, if it were left out, should hurt the soul.

Matt. xxviii.

The cause why the apostles wrote the gospels.

John xx.

1 John ii.

And in the last chapter to make all fast, he bringeth in the king's grace, how he confuted Martin Luther with this conclusion, The church cannot err: whereunto I will make none answer for fear to displease his grace; nevertheless because Martin could not soil it, if his grace look well upon the matter, he shall find that God hath assoiled it for him in a case of his own.

The pope and his cardinals erred in king Henry the eighth's case.

And upon that M. More concludeth his first book, that whatsoever the church, that is to wit, the pope and his brood, say, it is God's word, though it be not written, nor confirmed with miracle, nor yet good living; yea, and though they say to day this, and tomorrow the contrary, all is good enough and God's word; yea, and though one pope condemn another (nine or ten popes a row) with all their works for heretics, as it is to see in the stories, yet all is right and none error. And thus good night and good rest, Christ is brought asleep, and laid in his grave, and the door sealed to, and the men of arms about the grave to keep him down with poleaxes. For that is the surest argument, to help at need, and to be rid of these babbling heretics, that so bark at the holy spiritualty with the Scripture, being thereto wretches of no reputation, neither cardinals, nor bishops, nor yet great beneficed men; yea, and without tot quots and pluralities, having no hold but the very Scripture, whereunto they cleave as burs, so fast that they cannot be pulled away, save with very singeing them off.

M. More's conclusion.

The surest way to oppress true doctrine is to lay the preachers fast.

A SURE TOKEN THAT THE POPE IS ANTICHRIST.

AND though unto all the arguments and persuasions which he would blind us with, to believe that the pope with his sect were the right church, and that God for the multitude will not suffer them err, we were so simple that we saw not the subtilty of the arguments nor had words to solve them with, but our bare faith in our hearts; yet we be sure and so sure that we can therein not be deceived, and do both feel and see that the conclusion is false, and the contrary true.

The pope is antichrist.

For first Peter saith (2 Pet. ii.) There shall be false

2 Pet. ii.

teachers among you which shall secretly bring in damnable sects, denying the Lord that bought them, and many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of, and with feigned words they shall make merchandise over you. Now, saith Paul, (Rom iii.) The law speaketh unto them that are under the law. And even so, this is spoken of them that profess the name of Christ. Now the pope hath ten thousand sects cropen in, as pied in their consciences as in their coats, setting up a thousand manner of works to be saved by, which is the denying of Christ. And we see many, and almost all together follow their damnable ways. And in that Peter said that they shall rail and blaspheme the truth, it followeth that there shall be a little flock reserved by the hand of God to testify the truth unto them, or else how could they rail on it? and it followeth that those railers shall be the mightier part in the world, or else they durst not do it. Now what truth in Christ doth not the pope rebuke, and in setting up false works deny altogether? And as for their feigned words, where findest thou in all the Scripture, purgatory, shrift, penance, pardon, *pœna culpa*, *hyperdoulia*, and a thousand feigned terms more? And as for their merchandise, look whether they sell not all God's laws and also their own, and all sin, and all Christ's merits, and all that a man can think. To one he selleth the fault only, and to another the fault and the pain too; and purgeth his purse of his money and his brains of his wits, and maketh him so beastly, that he can understand no godly thing.

Rom iii.

A swarm of sects set up by the pope.

The pope by setting up of false works denieth the truth of God's word.

The pope selleth sin and pain, and all that can be sold.

Matt. xxiv. And Christ saith, (Matt. xxiv.) There shall false anointed arise and shew signs and wonders: that is, they shall shew miracles, and so prevail that if it were possible, the elect should be brought out of the true way. And these false anointed, by the same rule of Paul, and in that Christ saith also, that they shall come in his name, must be in the church of Christ, and of them that shall call themselves Christian, and shall shew their wonders before

the elect and be a sore temptation unto them, to bring them out of the way. And the elect which are few in comparison of them that be called and come feignedly, shall, among that great multitude, be kept by the mighty hand of God against all natural possibility. So that the church and very elect shall never be such a multitude together by themselves without persecution and temptation of their faith, as the great multitude under the pope is, which persecute and suffer not. And these which the pope calleth heretics, shew no miracles, by their own confession, neither ought they, inasmuch as they bring no new learning, nor aught save the Scripture which is already received and confirmed with miracles. Christ also promiseth us nought in this world, save persecution for our faith. And the stories of the Old Testament are also by Paul, 1 Cor. x. our ensamples. And there, though God at a time called with miracles a great multitude, yet the very chosen that received the faith in their hearts, to put their trust in God alone, and which endureth in temptations, were but few and ever oppressed of their false brethren, and persecuted unto the death, and driven unto corners.

The popish church are persecutors but no sufferers.

1 Cor. x. The church of Christ is ever persecuted.

And when Paul (2 Thess. ii.) saith that antichrist's coming shall be by the working of Satan with all power, signs and wonders of falsehood, and all deceiveableness for them that perish, because they conceived not love unto the truth, to be saved by: and therefore shall God send them strong delusion or guile, to believe lies; the text must also pertain unto a multitude gathered together in Christ's name, of which one part, and no doubt the greater, for lack of love unto the truth that is in Christ, to live thereafter, shall fall into sects, and a false faith under the name of Christ, and shall be indurate and stablished therein with false miracles to perish for their unkindness. The pope first hath no Scripture that he dare abide by in the light, neither careth, but blasphemeth that his word is truer than the Scripture. He hath mira-

2 Thess. ii.

The church of antichrist is the false church, and ever the greater number.

The pope is a devilish blasphemer of God.

cles without God's word, as all false prophets had. He hath lies in all his legends, in all preachings, and in all books. They have no love unto the truth, which appeareth by their great sins that they have set up above all the abomination of all the heathen that ever were, and by their long continuance therein not of frailty; but of malice unto the truth, and of obstinate lust and self will to sin. Which appeareth in two things: the one, that they have gotten them with wiles and falsehood from under all laws of man, and even above king and emperor, that no man should constrain their bodies and bring them unto better order, that they may sin freely without fear of man. And on the other side, they have brought God's word asleep, that it should not unquiet their consciences, insomuch that if any man rebuke them with that, they persecute him immediately and pose him in their false doctrine and make him an heretic, and burn him and quench it.

The pope is above king and emperor.

The pope persecuteth the word of God.

St. Paul describeth the pope and his in their colours.

And Paul saith (2 Tim. iii.) In the latter days there shall be perilous times. For there shall be men that love themselves, covetous, high-minded, proud, railers, disobedient to father and mother, unthankful, ungodly, churlish, promise-breakers, accusers or pick quarrels, unloving, despisers of the good, traitors, heady, puffed up, and that love lusts more than God, having an appearance of godliness, but denying the power thereof. And by power I understand the pure faith in God's word which is the power and pith of all godliness, and whence all that pleaseth God springeth. And this text pertaineth unto them that profess Christ. And in that he saith, having an appearance of godliness, and of that followeth in the text, of this sort are they that enter into men's houses and lead women captive laden with sin, ever asking and never able to attain unto the truth (as our hearers of confessions do) it appeareth that they be such as will be holier than other, and teachers and leaders of the rest. And look whether there be here any syllable that agreeth not unto our

God's word is the power and pith of all goodness.

Confession.

spiritualty in the highest degree. Love they not themselves their own decrees, and ordinances, their own lies and dreams, and despise all laws of God and man, regard no man but them only that be disguised as they be? And as for their covetousness which all the world is not able to satisfy, tell me what it is that they make not serve it: insomuch that if God punish the world with an evil pock, they immediately paint a block and call it Job, to heal the disease, instead of warning the people to mend their living. And as for their high mind and pride, see whether they be not above kings and emperor and all names of God, and whether any man may come to bear rule in this world except he be sworn to them and come up under them.

Love is of themselves.

Covetous.

High minded.

Proud.

And as for their railing, look in their excommunication, and see whether they spare king or emperor or the Testament of God. And as for obedience to father and mother, nay, they be immediately under God and his holy vicar the pope, he is their father, and on his ceremonies they must wait. And as for unthankful, they be so kind, that if they have received a thousand pound land of a man, yet for all that they would not receive one of his offspring unto a night's harbour at his need, for their founder's sake. And whether they be ungodly or no, I report me unto the parchment. And as for churlishness, see whether they will not have their causes venged, though it should cost whole regions, yea, and all christendom, as ye shall see, and as it hath cost half christendom already. And as for their promise or truce breaking, see whether any appointment may endure for their dispensations, be it never so lawful, though the sacrament were received for confirmation. And see whether they have not broken all the appointments made between them and their founders. And see whether they be not accusers and traitors, also, of all men, and that secretly, and of their very own kings, and of their own nation. And as for their headiness, see whether they be not prone, bold, and run

Railers.

Disobedient.

Unthankful.

Ungodly.

Churlish.

Promise breakers.

Accusers.

Heady.

headlong into all mischief, without pity or compassion, or caring what misery and destruction should fall on other men, so they may have their present pleasure fulfilled. And see whether they love not their lusts, that they will not be refrained from them, either by any law of God or man. And as for their appearance of godliness, see whether all be not God's service that they feign, and see whether not almost all consciences be captive thereto. And it followeth in the text, as the sorcerers of Egypt resisted Moses, so resisted they the truth. They must be therefore mighty jugglers. And to point the popish with the finger he saith, Men are they with corrupt minds, and cast-aways concerning faith; that is, they be so fleshly minded, so crooked, so stubborn, and so monstrous shapen, that they can receive no fashion to stand in any building that is grounded upon faith: but when thou hast turned them all ways, and done thy best to hew them and to make them frame, thou must be fain to cast them out with the Turks and Jews, to serve God with the image service of their own false works. Of these and such like texts, and of the similitudes that Christ maketh in the gospel of the kingdom of heaven, it appeareth, that though the Holy Ghost be in the chosen, and teacheth them all truth in Christ, to put their trust in him, so that they cannot err therein, yet, while the world standeth, God shall never have a church that shall either persecute or be unpersecuted themselves any season, after the fashion of the pope. But there shall be in the church a fleshly seed of Abraham and a spiritual, a Cain and an Abel, an Ishmael and an Isaac, an Esau and a Jacob, as I have said, a worker and a believer, a great multitude of them that be called, and a small flock of them that be elect and chosen. And the fleshly shall persecute the spiritual, as Cain did Abel, and Ishmael Isaac, and so forth, and the great multitude shall persecute the small little flock, and antichrist will be ever the best christian man.

Loving lusts.

Appearance of godliness.

The pope and his are mighty jugglers.

In the church shall there be for ever both good and evil.

So now the church of God is double, a fleshly and a spiritual: the one will be and is not, the other is and may not be so be called, but must be called a Lutheran, an heretic, and such like. Understand therefore, that God, when he calleth a congregation unto his name, sendeth forth his messengers to call generally, which messengers bring in a great multitude amazed and astonished with miracles and power of the reasons which the preachers make, and therewith be compelled to confess that there is but one God of power and might above all, and that Christ is God and man, and born of a virgin, and a thousand other things. And then the great multitude that is called and not chosen, when they have gotten this faith, common as well to the devils as them, and more strongly persuaded unto the devils than unto them, then they go unto their own imaginations, saying: We may no longer serve idols, but God that is but one. And the manner of service they set out of their own brains, and not of the word of God, and serve God with bodily service as they did in times past their idols, their hearts serving their own lusts still. And one will serve him in white, and another in black, another in grey, and another in pied. And another to do God a pleasure withal, will be sure that his shoe shall have two or three good thick soles under, and will cut him above, so that in summer while the weather is hot thou mayest see his bare foot, and in winter his sock. They will be shorn and shaven and sadducees—that is to say, righteous; and pharisees—that is, separated in fashions from all other men. Yea, and they will consecrate themselves altogether unto God, and will anoint their hands, and hallow them as the chalice, from all manner [of] lay uses: so that they may serve neither father nor mother, master, lord or prince, for polluting themselves, but must wait on God only, to gather up his rents, tithes, offerings, and all other duties. And all the sacrifice that come, they consume in the altar of their bellies, and make *Calil* of it, that is, a sacrifice that no man may have part of.

This word church is taken two manner [of] ways.

The spiritual church of God are called Lutherans and heretics.

The fleshly church serve God with works of their own.

Friars.

The blasing of hypocrites.

Calil is a sacrifice that no man may have any part thereof.

They believe that there is a God: but as they cannot love his laws, so they have no power to believe in him. But they put their trust and confidence in their own works, and by their own works they will be saved, as the rich of this world, when they sue unto great men, hope, with gifts and presents, to obtain their causes. Neither other serving of God know they, save such as their eyes may see, and their bellies feel. And of very zeal they will be God's vicars, and prescribe a manner unto other, and after what fashion they shall serve God, and compel them thereto for the avoiding of idolatry, as thou seest in the pharisees.

The small flock of Christ cometh to the word and promises of God.

Acts. ix.

Acts. ii.

But little flock, as soon as he is persuaded that there is a God, he runneth not unto his own imaginations, but unto the messenger that called him, and of him asketh how he shall serve God? As little Paul (Acts ix.) when Christ had overthrown him and caught him in his net, asked saying: Lord what wilt thou that I do? And as the multitude that were converted (Acts ii.) asked of the apostles what they should do? And the preacher setteth the law of God before them, and they offer their hearts to have it written therein, consenting that it is good and righteous.

Christ only is the perfect comforter of the Christian.

And because they have run clean contrary unto that good law, they sorrow and mourn, and because also their bodies and flesh are otherwise disposed. But the preacher comforteth them and sheweth them the testament of Christ's blood, how that for his sake all that is done is forgiven, and all their weakness shall be taken in worth until they be stronger, only if they repent, and will submit themselves to be scholars and learn to keep this law. And a little flock receiveth this testament in his heart, and in it walketh and serveth God in the Spirit. And from henceforth all is Christ with him, and Christ is his, and he is Christ's. All that he receiveth, he receiveth of Christ, and all that he doth, he doth to Christ. Father, mother, master, lord and prince, are Christs unto him, and as

Christ he serveth them with all love. His wife, children, servants and subjects are Christ unto him, and he teacheth them to serve Christ, and not himself and his lusts. And if he receive any good thing of man, he thanketh God in Christ, which moved the man's heart. And his neighbour he serveth as Christ in all his need, of such things as God hath lent, because that all degrees are bought as he is, with Christ's blood.

The Christian man in all things seeketh the honour of Christ.

And he will not be saved, for serving his brethren, neither promiseth his brethren heaven for serving him. But heaven, justifying, forgiveness, all gifts of grace, and all that is promised them they receive of Christ and by his merits freely. And of that which they have received of Christ, they serve each other freely as one hand doth the other, seeking for their service no more than one hand doth of another each the other's health, wealth, help, aid, succour, and to assist one another in the way of Christ. And God they serve in the spirit only, in love, hope, faith and dread.

The Christian seeketh his salvation only in Christ.

When the great multitude that be called and not chosen, Cain, Ishmael, Esau, and carnal Israel that serve God night and day with bodily service and holy works, such as they were wont to serve their idols withal, behold little flock that they come not forth in the service of God, they roar out, Where art thou? Why comest thou not forth and takest holy water? Wherefore, saith the little flock? To put away thy sins. Nay brethren, God forbid that ye should so think, Christ's blood only washeth away the sins of all that repent and believe. Fire, salt, water, bread, and oil be bodily things, given unto man for his necessity, and to help his brother with, and God that is a Spirit cannot be served therewith. Neither can such things enter into the soul to purge her. For God's word only is her purgation. No, say they, are not such things hallowed? And say we not in the hallowing of them, that whosoever is sprinkled with the water, or eateth of the bread, shall receive health of soul and body? Sir,

A pretty antithesis between the pope's church and Christ's little flock.

The popish church answereth.

The little flock.

the blessings promised unto Abraham, for all nations, are in Christ, and out of his blood we must fetch them, and his word is the bread, salt, and water of our souls. God hath given you no power to give through your charms such virtue unto unsensible creatures, which he hath hallowed himself and made them all clean (for the bodily use of them that believe) through his word of promise and permission and our thanksgiving. God saith, If thou believe St. John's gospel thou shalt be saved, and not for the bearing of it about thee with so many crosses, or for the observing of any such observances.

The pope's church.

God, for thy bitter passion, roar they out by and by, what an heretic is this! I tell thee that holy church need to allege no Scripture for them, for they have the Holy Ghost which inspireth them ever secretly, so that they cannot err, whatsoever they say, do, or ordain. What, wilt thou despise the blessed sacraments of holy church wherewith God hath been served this fifteen hundred years? (yea, verily this five thousand years, even since Cain, hitherto, and shall endure unto the world's end, among them that have no love unto the truth to be saved thereby) thou art a strong heretic, and worthy to be burnt. And then he is excommunicate out of the church. If the little flock fear not that bug, then they go straight unto the king. And it like your grace, perilous people and seditious, and even enough to destroy your realm, if ye see not to them betimes. They be so obstinate and tough, that they will not be converted, and rebellious against God and the ordinances of his holy church. And how much more shall they so be against your grace, if they encrease and grow to a multitude? They will pervert all, and surely make new laws, and either subdue your grace unto them, or rise against you. And then goeth a part of the little flock to pot, and the rest scatter. Thus hath it ever been, and shall ever be: let no man therefore deceive himself.

The manner of the pope's clergy.

Little flock goeth ever to wreck.

AN ANSWER TO M. MORE'S SECOND BOOK.

IN the first chapter ye may not try the doctrine of the spiritualty by the Scripture: but what they say, that believe undoubtedly and by that try the Scripture. And if thou find the plain contrary in the Scripture, thou mayest not believe the Scripture, but seek a gloss and an allegory to make them agree. As when the pope saith, Ye be justified by the works of the ceremonies and sacraments and so forth; and the Scripture saith, that we be justified at the repentance of the heart through Christ's blood. The first is true plain, as the pope saith it, and as it standeth in his text, but the second is false as it appeareth unto thine understanding, and the literal sense that killeth. Thou must therefore believe the pope and for Christ's doctrine seek an allegory and a mystical sense: that is, that thou must leave the clear light and walk in the mist. And yet Christ and his apostles, for all their miracles, required not to be believed without Scripture, as thou mayest see John v. and Acts xvii. and by their diligent alleging of Scripture throughout all the New Testament.

The pope will not be tried by Scripture, but the Scripture must be judged by him.

John v.

And in the end he saith for his pleasure, that we knowledge, that no man may minister sacraments but he that is derived out of the pope. Howbeit, this we knowledge, that no man could minister sacraments without signification which are no sacraments, save such as are of the pope's generation.

None can minister the sacraments superstitiously but the pope's generation.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

IN the third chapter, and in the chapter following, he uttereth how fleshly-minded he is, and how beastly he imagineth of God, as Paul saith, (1 Cor. ii.) The natural

1 Cor. ii.

The natural and carnal man savoureth not the things that be of God.

man cannot understand the things of the Spirit of God. He thinketh of God as he doth of his cardinal, that he is a monster, pleased when men flatter him, and if, of whatsoever frailty it be, men break his commandments, he is then raging mad as the pope is, and seeketh to be venged. Nay, God is ever fatherly minded toward the elect members of his church. He loved them ere the world began, in Christ. (Eph. i.) He loveth them while they be yet evil, and his enemies in their hearts, ere they be come unto the knowledge of his son Christ, and ere his law be written in their hearts: as a father loveth his young son, while he is yet evil, and ere it know the father's law to consent thereto.

Rom. v.

God is fatherly to his elect members.

And after they be once actually of his church, and the law of God, and faith of Christ written in their hearts, their hearts never sin any more, though as Paul saith, (Rom. vii.) the flesh doth in them that the spirit would not. And when they sin of frailty, God ceaseth not to love them still, though he be angry, to put a cross of tribulations upon their backs, to purge them and to subdue the flesh unto the spirit, or to all to break their consciences with threatening of the law, and to fear them with hell. As a father when his son offendeth him feareth him with the rod, but hateth him not.

Rom. vii.

If we sin of frailty God is merciful and ready to forgive.

God did not hate Paul, when he persecuted, but had laid up mercy for him in store, though he was angry with him, to scourge him and to teach him better. Neither were those things laid on his back which he after suffered, to make satisfaction for his fore sins, but only to serve his brethren and to keep the flesh under. Neither did God hate David when he had sinned, though he was angry with him. Neither did he after suffer to make satisfaction to God for his old sins, but to keep his flesh under, and to keep him in meekness, and to be an ensample for our learning.

The new life doth tame the flesh, and serve her neighbour.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

IN the fourth saith he, if the church were an unknown company, how should the infidels, if they longed for the faith, come thereby? O whither wandereth a fleshly mind, as though we first sought out God. Nay, God knoweth his, and seeketh them out, and sendeth his messengers unto them, and giveth them an heart to understand. Did the heathen or any nation seek Christ? Nay, Christ sought them and sent his apostles unto them. As thou seest in the stories from the beginning of the world, and as the parables and similitudes of the gospel declare.

God seeketh us and we not him.

And when he saith, he never found nor heard of any of us, but that he would forswear to save his life. Answer, the more wrath of God will light on them, that so cruelly delight to torment them, and so craftily to beguile the weak. Nevertheless yet it is untrue. For he hath heard of sir Thomas Hitton, whom the bishops of Rochester and Canterbury slew at Maidstone, and of many that suffered in Brabant, Holland, and at Cologne and in all quarters of Dutchland, and do daily.

More a lying papist.

Sir Thomas Hitton.

And when he saith that their church hath many martyrs, let him shew me one, that died for pardons, and purgatory, that the pope hath feigned, and let him take the mastery.

The pope hath no martyrs.

And what a do maketh he, that we say, there is a church that sinneth not, and that there is no man but that he sinneth, which are yet both true. We read, (1 John iii.) He that is born of God sinneth not. And (Eph. v.) Men, love your wives as the Lord doth the church, and gave himself for her, to sanctify her, and to cleanse her, in the fountain of water through the word, and to make her a glorious church unto himself, without spot or wrinkle.

There is a church that sinneth not.

1 John iii.

And (1 John i.) If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and make him a liar, and his word is not in us. M. More also will not understand that the church is some-

The church is double.

time taken for the elect only which have the law of God written in their hearts, and faith to be saved through Christ written there also. Which same, for all that, say with Paul, That good which I would, that do I not. But that evil which I hate, that do I: so it is not I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in my flesh.

Gal. v.

And (Gal. v.) the flesh lusteth contrary to the spirit, and the spirit contrary to the flesh, so that these two fighting between themselves, ye cannot do what ye would. For they never consent that sin is good, nor hate the law, nor cease to fight against the flesh, but as soon as they be fallen, rise and fight afresh. And that the church is sometime taken for the common rascal of all that believe, whether with the mouth only, and carnally, without Spirit, neither loving the law in their hearts, nor feeling the mercy that is in Christ, but either run altogether at riot or keep the law with cautels and expositions of their own feigning, and yet not of love, but for fear of hell, as the thieves do for fear of the gallows, and make recompence to God for their sins with holy deeds.

The carnal church sinneth.

Two manner [of] faiths John xv.

He also will not understand, that there be two manner [of] faiths: one, that is the faith of the elect, which purgeth them of all their sins for ever. As ye see John xv. Ye be clean, saith Christ, by the reason of the word: that is, through believing Christ's doctrine. And (John i.) He gave them power to be the sons of God, through believing in his name. And (John iii.) He that believeth the Son hath everlasting life: and a thousand like texts.

The faith of them that be called but not elect.

And another of them that be called and never elect. As the faith of Judas, of Simon Magus, of the devil, and of the pope. In whose hearts the law of God is not written, as it appeareth by their works. And therefore when they believe many things of Christ, yet when they come unto the salvation that is in his blood, they be but Jews and Turks and forsake Christ and run unto the justifying of ceremonies with the Jews and Turks.

And therefore they remain ever in sin within their hearts.

Where the elect having the law written in their breasts and leaving it in their spirits, sin there never, but without in the flesh. Against which sin they fight continually and minish it daily with the help of the Spirit, through prayer, fasting, and serving their neighbours lovingly with all manner [of] service, out of the law that is written in their hearts. And their hope of forgiveness is in Christ only, through his blood, and not in ceremonies.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

AND unto his fifth chapter I answer, by the pope the Scripture is hid and brought into ignorance, and the true sense corrupt. And by them that ye call heretics, we know the Scripture and the true sense thereof. And I say, that the pope keepeth the Scripture as did the pharisees, to make merchandise of it. And again, that the heretics be come out of you, as out of the scribes and pharisees came the apostles, and Christ himself, and John Baptist; and that they be plucked out of you, and graffed in Christ, and built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.

The pope hideth the Scripture.

And in the end, when he saith that the heretics be fallen out of Christ's mystical body, which is the pope and his; I answer, that ye be a mystical, [mistical] body and walk in the mist and will not come at the light, and the heretics be departed out of your mist, and walk in the clear light of God's word.

The heretics be fallen out of the mist.

THE SIXTH CHAPTER.

IN the sixth he saith that the heretics be all nought, for they all perjure and abjure. He yet saith untrue. Many abide unto the death. Many for their weakness are kept out of your hands. Many for their overmuch boldness

Why many fall.

in their own strength be delivered into your hands, and fall in the flesh, their hearts abiding still in the truth; as Peter and thousands did; and after repent, and be no less Christian than before, though ye have them in derision unto your own damnation. And many, because they come to Christ for fleshly liberty, and not for love of the truth; fall as it becometh them under your hands as Judas and Balaam, which at the beginning take Christ's part, but afterward when they find either loss, or no vantage, they get them unto the contrary part, and are by profession the most cruel enemies, and subtilest persecutors of the truth. Look, Master More, and read, and mark well.

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

Councils.

IN the seventh he saith, that he hath holy saints and holy councils on his side. Name the saints and prove it. Name the councils, and the holy prelates thereof. Thou shalt shew me none other popes or cardinals, than such as we have now, that will obey neither God nor man, or any law made by God or man; but compel all men to follow them, strengthening their kingdom with the multitude of all misdoers.

He saith also, that good and bad worship saints, the good well, and the bad evil. How cometh it then that ye shew not the difference, and teach to do it well? I see but one fashion among all the popish.

And finally he saith, he is not bound to answer unto the reasons and Scriptures that are laid against them. It is enough to prove their part, that it is a common custom, and that such a multitude do it: and so by his doctrine the Turks are in the right way.

THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.

IN the eighth he saith, the saints be more charitable now, than when they lived. I answer, Abraham was when he lived as charitable as the best. And yet dead, he answered him that prayed to him: They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them. And so have we, not Moses and the prophets only, but a more clear light, even Christ and the apostles, unto which if we hearken, we be saints already. Saints. Luke xvi.

And to prove that they in heaven be better than we in earth, he allegeth a text of our Saviour, (Luke vii.) that the worst in heaven is better than John Baptist. Now the text is, He that is less in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. We that believe are God's kingdom. And he that is least (in doing service unto his brethren) is ever the greatest after the doctrine of Christ. Now Christ was less than John, and therefore greater than he. And by their own doctrine, there was no saint in heaven before the resurrection of Christ! But what care they what they say, blinded with their own sophistry. Luke vii. Christ did such service as all the saints could not do.

Moreover, cursed is he that trusteth in ought save God, saith the text, and therefore the saints would have no man to trust in them while they were alive. As Paul saith (1 Cor. iii.) What is Paul, save your servant to preach Christ? Did Paul die for you? Were ye baptized in the name of Paul? Did I not marry you to Christ to put your trust in him? And again, Let no man rejoice or trust in man, saith he. For all are yours, whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas; whether the world, life, death, present things, or things to come; all are yours, and ye are Christ's and Christ is God's. If my faith be stedfast in the promises that I have in Christ's blood, I need but to pray to my Father in Christ's name and he shall send me a legion of angels to help me; so that my faith is lord over the angels, and over all creatures to turn them unto 1 Cor. iii.

my soul's health, and my Father's honour; and may be subject unto no creature, but unto God's word in our Saviour Christ only. I may have no trust therefore in the saints. If ye say, ye put no trust in them, but only put them in remembrance of their duty; as a man desireth his neighbour to pray for him, remembering him of his duty; and as when we desire our brethren to help us at our need. That is false, for ye put trust in all your ceremonies, and all your holy deeds; and in whosoever disguiseth himself, and altereth his coat from the common fashion, yea, and even in the coats of them that be not yet saints after your doctrine.

We may not trust to saints.

If a priest said mass in his gown, would ye not rise against him and slay him, and that for the false faith that ye have in the other garments? For what honour can those other garments do to God more than his gown, or profit unto your souls, seeing ye understand nought thereby? And thereto in the collects of saints ye say, Save me God, and give me everlasting life, for the merits of this or that saint; every man after his phantasy choosing him one saint singularly to be saved by. With which collects I pray you shew me, how standeth the death of Christ? Paul would say that Christ died in vain if that doctrine were true.

Prayer to saints is a great superstition.

And thereto inasmuch as ye say, the saints merit or deserve not in heaven, but in this world only, it is to be feared lest their merits be sore wasted, and the deservings of many all spent through our holy father's so great liberality.

Abraham and the prophets, and the apostles, and many since, prayed to no saints, and yet were holy enough.

Before Christ we used not to pray to saints.

And when he saith, they could help when they were alive. That was through their faith in believing the promise. For they had promises that they should do such miracles to stablish their doctrine, and to provoke unto Christ, and not unto themselves.

And when he proveth that the saints be in heaven in glory with Christ already, saying: If God be their God they be in heaven, for he is not the God of the dead; there he stealeth away Christ's argument wherewith he proveth the resurrection, that Abraham and all saints should rise again, and not that their souls were in heaven, which doctrine was not yet in the world. And with that doctrine he taketh away the resurrection quite, and maketh Christ's argument of none effect. For when Christ allegeth the Scripture that God is Abraham's God, and addeth to, that God is not God of the dead but of the living, and so proveth that Abraham must rise again; I deny Christ's argument, and say with M. More, that Abraham is yet alive, not because of the resurrection, but because his soul is in heaven. And in like manner Paul's argument unto the Corinthians is nought worth. For when he saith, If there be no resurrection, we be of all wretches the miserablest; here we have no pleasure, but sorrow, care, and oppression. And therefore, if we rise not again, all our suffering is in vain. Nay, Paul, thou art unlearned, go to Master More and learn a new way. We be not most miserable, though we rise not again, for our souls go to heaven as soon as we be dead, and are there in as great joy as Christ that is risen again. And I marvel that Paul had not comforted the Thessalonians with that doctrine, if he had wist it, that the souls of their dead had been in joy, as he did with the resurrection, that their dead should rise again. If the souls be in heaven in as great glory as the angels, after your doctrine, shew me what cause should be of the resurrection?

M. More destroyeth the resurrection.

Matt. xxii.

1 Cor. xv.

1 Thess. iv.

And when he saith, Whether the saints do it themselves or by intercession made to God, it maketh no matter, so we be holp; it appeareth by his doctrine, that all is good that helpeth, though a man pray unto the devil, by whom many be holp. Now in Christ we have promises of all manner [of] help, and not in them. Where then is our faith to be holp by Christ, when we hope to be holp by the merits

The more trust we have in saints, the less we have in Christ.

of saints? So, it appeareth, that the more trust we have in saints, the less we have in Christ.

Physicians. And when he bringeth in a similitude, that we pray physicians, though God can help us, and therefore we must pray to saints; it is not like: for they have natural remedies for us, which we must use, and not tempt God. But the saints have no natural remedies, nor promise of supernatural. And therefore it can be but a false superstitious faith. And where no natural remedy is, there God hath promised to help them that believe in him.

We must first call upon God, and then send for the physician. And moreover when I pray a physician or surgeon and trust to be holp by them, I dishonour God, except I first pray to God, and believe that he will work with their doctrine and medicines, and so receive mine health of the hand of God. And even so when I pray to man, to help me at mine need, I sin, except I complain first to God and shew him my need, and desire him to move one or another to help me, and then when I am holp, thank him and receive it of his hand, inasmuch as he moved the heart of him that holp me, and gave him wherewith, and a commandment to do it.

M. MORE. Christ is not dishonoured because that they which here preach him truly shall sit and judge with him.

TYNDALE. That to be true the Scripture testifieth, but what is that to your purpose that they which be dead can hear us and help us? Howbeit if M. More should describe us those sects, I am sure he would paint them after the fashion of my lord cardinal's holy chair, as he doth God after the similitude of worldly tyrants and not according to his own word. For they that be worldly and fleshly minded can but fleshly imagine of God altogether like unto the similitude of worldly things.

The fleshly minded cannot judge the things that be of God.

M. MORE. The apostles and saints were prayed to when they were alive, and God not dishonoured.

TYNDALE. What helpeth that your carnal purpose? I have answered you unto that and many things more in the

Obedience, and other places against which ye reply not, but keep your tune, and unto all things sing Cuckoo, cuckoo, we be the church and cannot err. The apostles had God's word for all that they did and ye none. 1 Cor. iii. And yet many dishonoured God and Christ for their false trust and confidence which they had in the apostles, as thou mayest see by Paul to the Corinthians.

Then he breaketh forth into open blasphemy, and saith that it behoveth us to pray unto saints and that God will else not hear us, for our presumptuous malapertness. More driveth from God. So it is now presumptuous malapertness to trust in God's word and to believe that God is true! Paul teacheth us Heb. iv. to be bold to go unto God and sheweth us good cause in Christ, why we so may, and that God would so have us. Neither is there any cause to keep us back, save that we love him not, nor trust him. If a man say, Our sins should keep us back: I say, if we repent and believe in Christ, Christ hath taken them away, and therefore, through him we may be bold. And Christ said at his last supper, (John xvi.) I say not that I will pray for you unto my John xvi. Father, for my Father loveth you. As who should say, Be not afraid, nor stand without the doors as a dastard: but be bold, and go in to my Father yourselves in my name, and shew your complaints, for he now loveth you, because ye love my doctrine. And Paul saith, (Eph. ii.) Eph. ii. We have all an open way in, through him, and are now no more foreigners or strangers but of the household of God. Of God therefore we be bold as of a most loving and merciful Father, above all the mercy of fathers. And of our Saviour Jesus we be bold, as of a thing that is our own and more our own than our own skins, and a thing that is so soft and gentle, that lade we him never so much with our sins, he cannot be angry nor cast them from off his back, so we repent and will amend. But M. More hath another doctrine to drive us from God and to make us tremble and be afraid of him. We may be bold to resort to God, for he willeth us so to do.

He likeneth God to worldly tyrants, at whom no man

may come, save a few flatterers which minister unto them all voluptuousness, and serve their lusts at all points, which flatterers must first be corrupt with gifts, ere a man may come at the king. Then he saith, A man may pray to every dead man. That, me thinketh, should be against the pope's doctrine and profit also. For he will have no man prayed to until he have canvassed him, I would say, canonised him, and till God, or at the least way the devil, have shewed miracles for him.

M. More is against the pope's profit.

Purgatory.

Then he bringeth how one that was dead, and in the invisible purgatory holp another that was alive and in the visible purgatory. This is a strange case, that a man there may help another, and not himself. And a more strange case that God heareth a man here for himself, being in his own purgatory, and helpeth him clean out, or easeth him if it be too sore. But and he be in the pope's purgatory, God will not hear him for himself, and that because the pope might have somewhat to deliver him. And the strangest case of all is, that the pope is Almighty there, and God can do there nought at all, as the pope cannot here in this purgatory. But because this is not God's word nor like God's doctrine, I think it no damnable sin to believe it poetry.

A purgatory visible, and a purgatory invisible.

Canonising.

How you may know who be saints in heaven.

King Henry of Windsor.

Then how ye may pray for them and to them, till they be canonised: and when they be canonised, but to them only, for then ye be sure that they be in heaven. By what token? I may be as sure by the canonising, as I am that all the bishops which the pope confirmeth, be holy men, and all the doctors that he maketh well learned, and that all the priests which he anointeth have the Holy Ghost! If ye say, Because of the miracles; then do men wrong to pray for king Henry of Windsor, at Cambridge and Eton. For he, as men say, doth miracles. And also if the miracles certify us, what needeth to buy the pope's canonising?

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

IN the ninth he putteth no jeopardy to pray to him that is damned and to stick up a candle to him; nor I trow unto the devil thereto, if he might have a vantage by him.

A strange doctrine to pray to him for help that is bad and damned.

Then he maketh no jeopardy to do and believe whatsoever an open multitude called God's church doth and believeth. For God will have an open church that cannot err. For saith he, When the Israelites fell to Idolatry, the true church remained in Jerusalem among the Jews. First I say, if a man had no better understanding than M. More's doctrine, he could not know whether were the true church, the Jews or the Israelites. For the Israelites were in number five times more than the Jews, and worshipped God, though as present in the image of a calf, as the Jews for the most part, present in the ark of testimony. And secondarily he saith false. For the Jews were fallen into open idolatry a thousand times worse than the Israelites, even in their very temple, as it appeareth by open stories and by the prophets: so that for their open idolatry, which they would for no preaching of the prophets amend; their priests thereto resisting the prophets and encouraging the people in their wickedness, God sent them captive out of the land. Yea and the people erred in following the scribes and pharisees, and the open multitude called God's church, at the coming of Christ; as it is to see in the gospel, contrary unto M. More's deceitful poetry. And again, God reserved him a little flock ever in Israel, and had ever prophets there, sometimes openly, and sometimes in persecution, that every man must hide himself and keep his faith secret: and even in the houses of the evil kings both of Jewry and also of Israel he had good people, and that among the high officers, but secretly, as Nicodemus among the pharisees. So that the very church was every where oftimes in capti-

The Israelites were more in number than the Jews.

The Jews committed idolatry.

God ever reserveth a little flock.

vity and persecution under their brethren, as we be under our's in the kingdom of the pope.

More feareth not to worship an unconsecrated host.

Then he putteth no jeopardy to worship an unconsecrated host. But with what worship men should worship the consecrated doth he not teach, neither the use of that sacrament or any other, nor how aught may be worshipped, but teacheth only that all things may be worshipped, and sheweth not the right worship from the false.

1 Cor. i.

Then he noteth Paul, (1 Cor. i.) how he exhorteth us to agree only, but not on the truth or on the good, but only to agree a great multitude together. O this deep blindness! Did not Paul first teach them the true way? And did he not instruct them anew in the true way, and in the said Epistle rebuke the false confidence that they had in men, the cause of all their dissension and all errors that were among them?

We must first know the true way, and then agree in the same.

Then he saith, The Jews had saints in honour, as the patriarchs and prophets; we teach to dishonour none. But the Jews prayed to none.

MORE. Christ rebuked not the pharisees for garnishing the sepulchres of the prophets, but for that they followed the conditions of them that slew them.

Christ rebuked the false trust the Jews had in their will works.

TYNDALE. Yes, and for their false trust in such works as we do you. And ye, Sir, think that ye deserve heaven in worshipping the saints' bones, and be as ready to slay them that believe, teach and live as the saints did, as your fathers were to slay them: besides that, ye worship saints that followed Christ after the example of your holy cardinal, of whom I doubt not but that ye will make a God in process of time also.

Then repenteth he for forgetting, how Eliseus' bones raised up a dead body: that was to confirm his preaching only. For the Israelites, as wicked as they were, neither prayed to him, neither kissed his bones, nor offered, nor sticked up candles before him; which thing if they had done in the kingdom of the Jews, I doubt not but that some

good king would have burnt his bones, as well as the brazen serpent, that was as great a relic as dead bones. And Christ shewed miracles at the finding of the cross. That was to stablish the faith of Christ's death, and that it should be a memory of his death; and not that we should trust in the wood as we do. For which false abuse, the whole land where Christ did his miracles is destroyed.

The miracles done by the prophets and apostles was to confirm their doctrine.

Then he allegeth the woman that was healed, through touching of Christ's coat, because we should worship it. When Christ said, her faith hath made her whole, not in the coat, but in Christ.

Christ made the woman whole, and not his coat.

And the miracle was shewed, to provoke to the worshipping of the preaching, and not of the coat. Though to keep the coat reverently in the memorial of the deed, to provoke unto the faith of Christ were not evil of itself. And Paul, by your doctrine, sent his napkin to heal the sick, that men should shrine his snivelled napkin, and not to believe his preaching.

Miracles were done for the confirmation of doctrine.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

THE tenth chapter of saint Walary is meet for the author, and his worshipful doctrine.

A filthy chapter.

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

IN the eleventh he juggleth with this mystical term *Latria*. I answer, God is no vain name, but signifieth one that is almighty, all merciful, all true and good, which he that believeth will go to God, to his promises and testament, and not follow his own imaginations, as M. More's doctrine teacheth.

Latria.

He saith, that bodily service is not *Latria*. No, but bodily service done and referred unto him which is a spirit, is *Idololatria*.

He trusteth, that men know the image from the saint.

Moses.

I ask M. More why God did hide Moses's body and divers other? The Jews would have known that Moses had not been God, and that Moses's bones had not been Moses. And they knew that the brazen serpent was not God, and that the golden calves were not God, and that wood and stone were not God. But, sir, there is ever a false imagination by. The world, because they cannot worship God in the spirit, to repent of evil, and to love the law, and to believe that he will help at all need, therefore run they unto their own imaginations, and think that God, for such service as they do to images, will fulfil their worldly desires; for godly can they nought desire. Now God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in his word only, which is spiritual, and will have no bodily service. And the ceremonies of the old law he set up, to signify his word only, and to keep the people in mind of his testament. So that he which observeth any ceremony of any other purpose is an idolater, that is, an image server.

Moses's bones.

The brazen serpent.

God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped spiritually.

And when he saith, if men ask women whether it were our lady of Walsingam or Ipswich that was saluted of Gabriel, or that stood by Christ when he hung on the cross? they will say neither nother. Then I ask him what meaneth it that they say, Our lady of Walsingham pray for me; Our lady of Ipswich pray for me; Our lady of Wilsdon pray for me? insomuch that some which reckon themselves no small fools, make them rolls of half an hour long, to pray after that manner. And they that so pray, thou mayest be sure, mean our lady that stood by the cross, and her that was saluted thereto.

The idolatrous person worshippeth the image for the saint.

Then he rehearseth many abuses, and how that women sing songs of ribaldry in processions in cathedral churches unto which abominations yet our holy church, that cannot err, consent with full delectation. For on the one side they will not amend the abuse. And on the other side they have hired M. More to prove with his sophistry that the things ought not to be put down.

Processions though they be abused may not be put down.

Then he bringeth in how the wild Irish and the Welch

pray, when they go to steal. And asketh whether because they abuse prayer, we should put all praying down? Nay, M. More, it is not like. Prayer is God's commandment and where faith is, there must prayer needs be, and cannot be away. Howbeit, things that are but men's traditions, and all indifferent things which we may be as well without as with, may well be put down for their dishonouring of God through the abuse. We have turned kissing in the church into the pax. We have put down watching all night in the church on saints' eves for the abuse. And Ezekias brake the brazen serpent, (4 Kings xviii.) for the abuse. And even so such processions, and the multitude of ceremonies, and of holy days too, might as well be put down. And the ceremonies that be left would have their significations put to them, and the people should be taught them. And on the Sundays God's word would be truly preached. Which if his holy church would do, neither the Irish nor yet the Welsh would so pray. By which praying, and other like blindness, M. More may see that buzzing in Latin on the holy days helpeth not the hearts of the people. And I wonder that M. More can laugh at it, and not rather weep for compassion, to see the souls for which Christ shed his blood to perish. And yet I believe that your holy church will not refuse at Easter to receive the tithes of all that such blind people rob, as well as they dispense with all false gotten good that is brought them; and will lay the ensample of Abraham and Melchizedec for them.

Wild Irish. Welch men.

Many things are altered for the abuses' sake.

Ezekias.

The true preaching of God's word removeth theft and all other wickedness.

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER.

IN the twelfth he allegeth that St. Jerom and Augustine prayed to saints, and concludeth, that if any sect be one better than another they be the best. I answer, though he could prove that they prayed to saints, yet could he not prove himself thereby of the best sect, nor that it were good therefore to pray to saints. For first,

A good man may err and yet not be damned.

the apostles, patriarchs, and prophets were sure to be followed, which prayed to none. And again, a good man might err in many things, and not be damned, so that his error were not directly against the promises that are in Christ's blood, neither that he held them maliciously. As if I believed that the souls were in heaven immediately, and that they prayed for us, as we do one for another, and did believe that they heard all that we spake or thought; and upon that prayed to some saint to pray for me, to put him in remembrance only, as I pray my neighbour, and without other trust or confidence; and though all be false, yet should I not be damned so long as I had no obstinacy therein; for the faith that I have in Christ's blood should swallow up that error, till I were better taught: but M. More should have alleged the places where they prayed unto saints.

The miracles of saints confirm man's imaginations.

And then he allegeth against himself, that the miracles were wrought by God, to confirm his doctrine, and to testify that the preacher there was a true messenger. But the miracles that confirm praying to saints, do not confirm God's doctrine, but man's imaginations. For there was never man yet that came forth and said Lo, the souls of the saints that be dead be in heaven in joy with Christ, and God will that ye pray unto them. In token whereof I do this or that miracle.

There were no doctors, neither apostles, that did miracles to establish the worshipping of images.

And when he triumpheth a little after, as though all were won, saying, if our old holy doctors were false and their doctrine untrue, and their miracles feigned; let them come forth and do miracles themselves, and prove ours feigned. Sir, ye have no doctors that did miracles to stablish your worshipping of images and so forth. Your doctrine is but the opinion of faithless people, which to confirm, the devil hath wrought much subtilty. And as for the miracles done at saints' graves, and at the presence of relics, as long as true miracles endured, and until the Scripture was authentically received, [they] were done to confirm the preaching that such saints had preached while they

were alive. And thereto the miracles which witches do we confound not with other miracles, but with Scripture we prove them not of God, but of the devil, to stablish a false faith, and to lead from God, as your doctrine doth. And likewise where we can confound your false doctrine with authentic and manifest Scripture, there need we to do no miracle. We bring God's Testament confirmed with miracles for all that we do, and ye ought to require no more of us.

Witches.

Where true doctrine is set forth, there needeth no miracle.

And in like manner do ye first give us authentic Scripture for your doctrine. If ye have no Scripture, come forth and preach your doctrine, and confirm it with a miracle. And then if we bring not authentic Scripture against you, or confound your miracle with a greater, as Moses did the sorcerers of Egypt, we will believe you.

Let the papists for lack of Scriptures come forth and do miracles.

And when he speaketh of trial of miracles, what do ye to try your miracles, whether they be true or feigned? And besides that, God's word, which should be the trial, ye refuse, and do all that ye can to falsify it.

God's word is the touchstone to try miracles.

And when he speaketh of sects of heretics, I answer, that they which ye call heretics believe all in one Christ, as the Scripture teacheth, and ye in all save Christ. And in your false doctrine of your own feigning without Scripture, ye have as many sundry sects as all monks and friars and students in divinity in all your universities. For first, ere ye come to divinity, ye be all taught to deny the salvation that is in Christ. And none of you teacheth another so much as the articles of your faith. But follow almost every man, a sundry doctor, and in the Scripture his own brain, framing it after the false opinions which he hath professed ere he come at it.

The sects in the popish church are almost innumerable.

And when he saith that God would soon utter feigned miracles. I answer, God hath had at all times one or another to improve yours with God's word. And I ask whether Mahomet's feigned miracles have not prevailed eight hundred years? And your abominable deeds, worse than the Turks', testify that ye love the truth less than

Mahomet's doctrine hath prevailed these eight hundred years.

The cause of false miracles.

they. And unto them that love not the truth hath God promised by the mouth of Paul, (2 Thess. ii.) to send them abundance and strength of false miracles, to stablish them in lies, and to deceive them, and lead them out of the way, so that they cannot but perish for their unkindness, that they loved not the truth to live thereafter, and to honour God in their members.

Where the Scripture is, there needeth no miracles.

And when he saith the heretics have no miracles. I answer, they need not, so long as they have authentic Scripture.

And when he saith, God sheweth no miracles for the doctors of the heretics. No more he needeth not, for all they preach is the Scripture confirmed with miracles, and received many hundred years ago. And therefore God needeth not to shew miracles for them while they live to strengthen their preaching. And to shew miracles for them when they be dead, to move the people to pray to them and to put their trust in them, as ye do in yours, were to make them idols and not saints.

The preachers of the word of God need no miracles.

False doctrine was never persecuted.

And when he speaketh of miracles done in their churches in time of persecution. I answer, those were not the miracles of your church but of them that believed the Scripture and suffered for it, as the heretics do now. For ye had never persecution for your false doctrine, which ye have brought in besides the Scripture, nor any that died for it; but ye persecute and slay whosoever with God's word doth rebuke it. And as for your own miracles of which ye make your boast, ye have feigned them so grossly throughout all your legends of saints, that ye be now ashamed of them, and would fain be rid of them if ye wist how, with honesty, and so would ye of a thousand things which ye have feigned. And the cause why heretics feign no miracles, as ye do, is, that they walk purely and intend no falsehood.

The papists are ashamed of their legend of lies.

And why the devil doth none for them, is, that they cleave fast to God's word which the devil hateth, and can do no miracles to further it; but to hinder it, as he doth with

you. Read the stories of your popes and cardinals, and see whether the devil hath not helped them unto high dignities. And look whether your holy bishops come any otherwise unto their promotions, than by serving the devil, in setting all Christendom at variance, in shedding blood, in bringing the commonwealth to tyranny, and in teaching christian princes to rule more cruelly than did ever any heathen, contrary unto the doctrine of Christ.

The devil hath helped popes to their dignities.

And as for the Turks and Saracens that ye speak of. I answer that they were christians once, at the leastway for the most part. And because they had no love unto the truth, to live thereafter, as ye have not, God did send them false miracles to carry them out of the right way, as ye be. And as for the Jews, why they bide out, is only because they have set up their own righteousness, as ye have, and therefore cannot admit the righteousness that is in Christ's blood, as ye cannot, and as ye have forsworn it.

The cause why the Turks and Jews cannot come to the truth.

And when he saith, in that they have miracles and the heretics none, it is a sure sign that they be the true church and the heretics not. Had ye God's word with your miracles, and the heretics' doctrine were without, then it were true. But now, because ye have miracles without God's word to confirm your false imaginations, and they which ye call heretics have God's word confirmed with miracles, five hundred years together, it is a sure sign that they be the true church and ye not, inasmuch also as Christ saith, that the deceivers shall come with miracles; yea, and in his name thereto, as ye do. For when Christ saith, there shall come in my name, they shall say he himself is Christ; who is that, save your pope, that will be Christ's vicar, and yet maketh men to believe in himself, in his bulls and calves' skins and in whatsoever he listeth? And who be those false anointed that shall come with miracles to deceive the elect if it were possible, save your pope with his *gresiamus?*

Popish doctrine needeth miracles, but Christ's doctrine needeth not now of miracles, for it was confirmed by Christ with miracles.

Matt. xxiv.

The pope cometh in Christ's name with false miracles.

And when he repeateth his miracles, to prove that the

old holy doctors were good men in the right belief. I answer again, that the doctors which planted God's word watered it with miracles, while they were alive. And when they were dead God shewed miracles at their graves, to confirm the same, as of Elias. And that continued till the Scripture was full received and authentic. But ye cannot shew, nor shall any doctor which being alive preached your false doctrine confirming it with miracles, as God doth his Scripture.

The preachers of God's word confirmed the same with miracles while they were alive.

Then saith he, God had in the Old Testament good men full of miracles, whose living a man might be bold to follow, and whose doctrine a man might believe by reason of their miracles, and then juggleth, saying: if God should not so now in the New Testament have doctors with miracles to confirm their doctrine and livings, but contrariwise should bring to pass, or suffer to be brought to pass, with false miracles, that his church should take hypocrites for saints, which expounded the Scripture falsely; then should he deceive his church and not have his Spirit present in his church, to teach them all truth, as he promised them. I answer, God suffereth not his church to be deceived; but he suffereth the pope's church: because they have no love unto the truth, to live after the laws of God, but consent unto all iniquity, as he suffered the church of Mahomet. Moreover, the gift of miracles was not always among the preachers in the Old Testament. For John Baptist did no miracle at all. The miracles were ceased long ere Christ. And as for you in the pope's kingdom had never man that either confirmed God's doctrine, or your own with miracles. All your saints be first saints when they be dead, and then do first miracles, to confirm tithes and offerings and the poetry which ye have feigned, and not true doctrine. For to confirm what preaching doth St. Thomas of Canterbury miracles? He preached never, nor lived any other life than as our cardinal, and for his mischief died a mischievous death. And of our cardinal, if we be not dili-

God suffereth such as have no love to his truth, to be deceived with lying miracles.

Why the pope fell.

In the popish church all miracles are wrought by dead saints.

St. Thomas of Canterbury.

gent, they will make a saint also, and make a greater relic of his shoe than of the others.

And of your dead saints let us take one for an ensample. Thomas de Aquino is a saint full of miracles, as friars tell. And his doctrine was, that our Lady was born in original sin. And Duns doing no miracle at all, because, I suppose, no man wotteth where he lieth, improveth that with his sophistry, and affirmeth the contrary. And of the contrary hath the pope, for the devotion that the gray friars gave him, ye may well think, made an article of the faith.

Thomas de Aquino.

Duns.

And finally, as for the miracles, they are to make a man astonished and to wonder and to draw him to hear the word earnestly, rather than to write it in his heart. For whosoever hath no other sealing of the law of God, that it is good, than because of miracles, the same shall believe in Christ, as did Simon Magus and Judas, and as they that came out of Egypt with Moses, and fell away at every temptation; and shall have good works like unto our popes, bishops, and cardinals. And therefore when the Scripture is fully received, there is no need of miracles. Insomuch that they which will not believe Moses and the prophets when the Scripture is received, the same will be no true believers by the reason of miracles, though one arose from death to life to preach unto them by the testimony of Christ.

Miracles.

Our faith may not be grounded only upon miracles, but upon the word of God.

And again, how doth St. Jerom, Augustine, Bede and many other old doctors, that were before the pope was cropt up into the consciences of men, and had sent forth his damnable sects, to preach him under the name of Christ, as Christ prophesied it should be, expound this text, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church; and this text, Peter feed my sheep; and, all power is given me in heaven and in earth; and innumerable such texts clean contrary unto all those new old holy doctors that have made the pope a God? They knew of no power that man should have in the kingdom of Christ, but to preach Christ

Matt. xvi.

John xxi.

The apostles of Christ knew no such authority as the pope now usurpeth.

truly. They knew of no power that the pope should have to send to purgatory or to deliver thence, neither of any pardons, nor of any such confession as they preach and teach, neither were many that are articles with you, articles of their faith. They all preached forgiveness of sins, through repentance toward the law, and faith in our Saviour Christ, as all the Scripture plainly doth, and can no otherwise be taken, and as all the hearts of as many as love the law of God, do feel, as surely as the finger feeleth the fire hot.

AN ANSWER UNTO MASTER MORE'S THIRD BOOK.

IN his third book he proceedeth forth as before to prove that the opinions which the popish teach without Scripture are of equal authority with the Scripture. He asked what, if there had never been Scripture written? I answer, God careth for his elect, and therefore hath provided them of Scripture, to try all things and to defend them from all false prophets. And I say moreover that if there had been no Scripture written, that God for his mercy and fatherly love and care toward his elect must have provided, that there should never have been heresies, or against all times when sects should arise, have stirred up preachers to confound the heresies with miracles. Take this ensample, the Greeks have the Scripture and serve God therein much more diligently than we. Now let us give that there were no Scripture, but that we received all our faith by the authority of our elders, and the Greeks by the authority of their elders. When I shall dispute with a Greek, about the articles of the faith which my elders taught me, and his elders deny, as ear confession, the holy pardons of the pope, and all his

What if there had been no Scripture?

Greeks.

God to avoid heresies caused the Scriptures to be written.

power that he hath above other bishops, and many other things beside the Scripture, which we hold for articles of our faith, and they deny; if there be no other proof of either part, than to say, My elders, which cannot err, so affirm; and that he should answer, his elders, which cannot err, so deny, what reason is it, that I should leave the authority of my elders, and go and believe his, or that he should leave the authority of his elders, and come and believe mine? none at all verily. But the one party must shew a miracle, or else we must refer our causes unto authentic Scripture, received in old time, and confirmed with miracles, and therewith try the controversy of our elders.

Noah.

And when he asketh, whether there were no true faith from Adam to Noah? I answer, that God partly wrote their faith in their sacrifices, and partly the partriarchs were full of miracles as ye may see in the Bible.

What faith saveth.

Where true faith is, there is repentance and admendment of life.

And when More, to utter his darkness and blind ignorance saith, that they which were overwhelmed with Noah's flood, had a good faith, and bringeth for him Nicolas de Lira; I answer, that Nicolas de Lira delirat. For it is impossible to have a faith to be saved by, except a man consent unto God's law with all his heart, and all his soul, that it is righteous, holy, good, and to be kept of all men, and thereupon repent that he hath broken it, and sorrow that his flesh moveth unto the contrary; and then come and believe that God for his mercy will forgive him all that he hath done against the law, and will help him to tame his flesh, and suffer his weakness in the mean season, till he be waxed stronger: which faith, if they that perished in Noah's flood had had, they could not but have mended their livings, and had not hardened their hearts through unbelief, and provoked the wrath of God, and waxed worse and worse an hundred and twenty years which God gave them to repent; until God could no longer suffer them, but washed their filthiness away with the flood, (as he doth the pope's

shameful abominations, with like inundations of water,) and destroyed them utterly.

Abraham. And when he asketh whether Abraham believed no more than is written of him? I ask him how he will prove that there was no writing in Abraham's time, and that Abraham wrote not? And again, as for Abraham's person, he received his faith of God, which to confirm unto others, miracles were shewed daily.

The elders did err. And when he feigneth forth, that they believed only because they knew their elders could not err. How could they know that without miracles, or writing confirmed with miracles, more than the Turk knoweth that his elders, so many hundred years, in so great a multitude cannot err; and teach false doctrine to damn the believers? And the contrary doth M. More see in all the Bible, how after all was received in Scripture, confirmed with miracles, and though miracles ceased not, but were shewed daily, yet the elders erred and fell to idolatry, an hundred for one that bode in the right way, and led the younger into error with them so sore, that God, to save the younger, was fain to destroy the elders, and to begin his testament afresh with the new generation.

The elders in the time of the Jews did err.

He seeth also that the most part were alway idolaters, for all the Scripture and true miracles thereto; and believed the false miracles of the devil, beause his doctrine was more agreeable unto their carnal understanding, than the doctrine of God's Spirit, as it now goeth with the pope: did not scribes, pharisees, and priests, which were the elders, err?

The scribes, pharisees and elders did err.

The Scripture was authorised by true miracles. And when he asketh, who taught the church to know the true Scripture from false books? I answer, true miracles, that confounded the false, gave authority unto the true Scripture. And thereby have we ever since judged all other books and doctrine.

False books set forth by the papists. And by that we know that your legends be corrupt with lies. As Erasmus hath improved many false books which ye have feigned and put forth in the name of S.

Jerom, Augustine, Cyprian, Dionisius and of other, partly with authentic stories, and partly by the style and Latin and like evident tokens. Erasmus.

And when M. More saith (unto them that believe nought but the Scripture,) he will prove with the Scripture, that we be bound to believe the church in things, wherefore they have no Scripture. Because God hath promised in the Scripture, that the Holy Ghost shall teach his church all truth. Nay, that text will not prove it. For the first church taught nought, but they confirmed it with miracles which could not be done but of God, till the Scripture was authentically received. And the church following teacheth nought that they will have believed as an article of the faith, but that which the Scripture proveth and maintaineth. As S. Augustine protesteth of his works, that men should compare them unto the Scripture, and thereby judge them, and cast away whatsoever the Scripture did not allow. And therefore they that will be believed without Scripture, are false hypocrites, and not Christ's church. For though I know that that messenger which Christ sendeth cannot lie, yet in a company where many liars be, I cannot know which is he without a token of Scripture, or of miracle.

The true church teacheth nothing but that which the Scripture proveth and maintaineth.

And when he saith, the Scripture itself maketh us not to believe the Scripture, but the church teacheth us to know the Scripture: for a man might read it and not believe it. And so I say, that a man might hear you preach, and yet believe you not also. And I say thereto, that your church teacheth not to know the Scripture, but hideth it in the Latin from the common people. And from them that understand Latin, they hide the true sense with a thousand false glosses.

The pope hideth the Scripture.

The papists hide the Scripture.

And I say moreover that the Scripture is the cause why men believe the Scripture, as well as a preacher is the cause why men believe his preaching. For as he that first told in England that the Rhodes was taken, was the cause why some believed it; even so might writing sent from those

The Scripture is the cause why men believe the Scripture.

parties be the cause that some men which read it believed it. M. More will say, that letter had his authority of the man that sent it; and so hath the Scripture her authority of the church. Nay, the Scripture hath her authority of Him that sent it, that is to wete of God, which thing the miracles did testify, and not of the man that brought it. He will say, thou knowest the Scripture by their shewing. I grant at the beginning I do.

The papists' doctrine is not to be believed without Scripture.

Then will he say, why should ye not believe them, in all their other doctrine besides the Scripture, and in all their expositions of the Scripture, as well as ye believe them, when they tell you that such and such books are the Scripture? May they not shew you a false book? yes, and therefore at the beginning I believe all alike. Every lie that they tell out of their own brains we believe to be Scripture; and so should I believe them if they shewed me a false book; but when I have read the Scripture, and find not their doctrine there, nor depend thereof, I do not give so great credence unto their other doctrine, as unto the Scripture. Why? For I find more witnesses unto the Scripture, than unto their other doctrine. I find whole nations and countries that receive the Scripture, and refuse their other doctrine and their expositions in many places. And I find the Scripture otherwise expounded of them of old time, than they which now will be the church expound it. Whereby their doctrine is more suspect. I find mention made of the Scripture in stories, that it was, when I can find no mention or likelihood that their doctrine was. I find in all ages that men have resisted their doctrine with the Scripture, and have suffered death by the hundred thousands in resisting their doctrine. I see their doctrine brought in and maintained by a contrary way to that by which the Scripture was brought in. I find by the self same Scripture, when I look diligently thereon, that their other doctrine cannot stand therewith.

Why the pope is not to be believed without Scripture, and why he is not the true church.

The doctrine of the papists hath been many times resisted by the Scriptures.

I find in the Scripture that they which have not Christ's spirit to follow the steps of his living pertain not

What things we find in Scripture.

unto Christ. (Rom. viii.) I find in the Scripture, that they which walk in their carnal birth after the manner of the children of Adam cannot understand the things of the Spirit of God. (1 Cor. ii.) I find in the Scripture that they which seek glory cannot believe Christ. (John v.) I find in the Scripture that they which submit not themselves to do the will of God, cannot know what doctrine is of God, and what not. (John vii.) I find in the Scripture, (Jer. xxxi. and Heb. viii.) that all the children of God, which only are the true members of his church, have every one of them the law of God written in their hearts; so that if there were no law to compel, they would yet naturally, out of their own hearts, keep the law of God; yea, and against violence compelling to the contrary. And I see that they which will be the church, (and to prove it hath not so great trust in the Scripture as in their sophistry and in the sword which they have set up in all lands, to keep them with violence in the room) are so far off from having the laws of God written in their hearts, that they neither by God's law, nor man's, refrain from their open outward wicked living. Look in the Chronicles, what blood it hath cost England to attempt to bring them under the law! yea, and see what business the realm hath had, to keep the prelates within the realm from taking the benefices with them, and lying at Rome, and yet scarcely brought it to pass, for all that the pope hath the stint of every Bishopric and of every great abbey thereto, as oft as any is void, ere a new be admitted to the room. And I see them bond unto their own will, and both to do and to consent unto other, to do all that God hath forbidden. I see them of all people most vain glorious. I see them walk after their fleshly birth. I see them so far off from the image of Christ, that not only they will not die for their flock after his ensample, but also ere they would lose one town, or village, any polling, or privilege which they have falsely gotten, bringing themselves into good pastures with wiles, and shutting their

Rom. viii.

1 Cor. ii.

John v.

John vii.

Heb. viii.

The papists will neither by God's law nor man's refrain from their wicked living.

John x.

The papists will loose nothing that belongeth to them.

flock without, they would cast away an hundred thousand of them in one day, and beggar their realms, yea, and interdict them, and bring in strange nations, though it were the Turks, to conquer them and slay them up, so much as the innocent in the cradle. And I see that their other doctrine is for their vantage only, and that therewith they have gotten all that they have.

And I find in the Scripture that the Jews, before the coming of Christ, knew that those books were the Scripture by the scribes and the pharisees. And yet as many as believed their other doctrine and many expositions of the Scripture were deceived, as ye see, and how Christ delivered them out of error. And I see again (which is no small miracle) that the merciful care of God to keep the Scripture to be a testimony, unto his elect, is so great, that no men be more jealous over the books, to keep them and shew them, and to allege, that they be the Scripture of God, and true, than they which when it is read in their ears, have nó power to believe it, as the Jews and the popish. And therefore because they neither can believe it false, neither consent that it is true as it soundeth plainly in their ears, in that it is so contrary unto their fleshly wisdom, from which they cannot depart, they seek a thousand glosses to turn it into another sense, to make it agree unto their beastliness; and where it will receive no such glosses, there they think that no man understandeth it.

Christ delivered the Jews out of error.

None have more care of the Scripture, than those that believe it not.

Then in the end of the chapter, M. More cometh unto his wise conclusion and proveth nothing save sheweth his ignorance, as in all thing. He saith we believe the doctrine of the Scripture without Scripture, as for an ensample, the pope's pardons, because only that the church so teacheth, though no Scripture confirmeth it. Why so? Because saith he, the Holy Ghost by inspiration, if I do my endeavour and captivate mine understanding, teacheth me to believe the church concerning God's word, taught by the church and graven in men's hearts with our Scripture, as well as he teacheth us to believe words writ-

ten in the Scripture. Mark where he is now. Afore he saith, the Scripture causeth us not to believe the Scripture, for a man may read it and believe it not. And much more, the preacher maketh us not to believe the preacher, for a man may hear him and believe him not also. As we see the apostles could not cause all men to believe them. For though the Scripture be an outward instrument, and the preacher also to move men to believe, yet the chief and principal cause why a man believeth or believeth not is within. That is, the Spirit of God teacheth his children to believe, and the devil blindeth his children and keepeth them in unbelief, and maketh them to consent unto lies, and think good evil, and evil good. As the Acts of the Apostles say in many places, There believed as many as were ordained unto everlasting life. And Christ saith (John viii.) They that be of God hear God's word. And unto the wicked Jews he saith, Ye cannot believe because ye be not of God. And in the same place saith he, Ye be of your father the devil, and his will ye will do, and he bode not in the truth, and therefore will not suffer his children to consent to the truth. And John, in the xth. saith Christ, All that came before me, be thieves and murderers, but my sheep heard not their voices. That is, all that preach any salvation save in Christ, murder the souls. Howbeit, Christ's sheep could not consent to their lies, as the rest cannot but believe lies, so that there is ever a remnant kept by grace. And of this I have seen divers examples. I have known as holy men as might be, as the world counteth holiness, which at the hour of death had no trust in God at all, but cried, Cast holy water, light the holy candle, and so forth, sore lamenting that they must die. And I have known other which were despised, as men that cared not for their divine service, which at death have fallen so flat upon the blood of Christ as is possible, and have preached unto other mightily, as it had been an apostle of our Saviour, and comforted them with comfort of the life to come, and have died so gladly,

M. More reasoneth against himself.

Acts xiii.

John viii.

They that preach not Christ truly are murderers.

The end of hypocrites.

Predestination.

that they would have received no world's good to bide still in the flesh. And thus is M. More fallen upon predestination, and is compelled with violence of Scripture to confess that which he hateth and studieth to make appear false, to establish free will withal, not so much of ignorance I fear, as for lucre sake, and to get honour, promotion, dignity, and money, by help of our mitred monsters. Take example of Balaam, the false prophet, which gave counsel and sought means, through like blind covetousness, to make the truth and prophecy which God had shewed him false. He had the knowledge of the truth, but without love thereto, and therefore for vantage became enemy unto the truth: but what came of him?

Balaam.

But M. More peppereth his conclusion lest men should feel the taste, saying, if we endeavour ourselves, and captive our understanding to believe. O! how beetle blind is fleshly reason; the will hath none operation at all in the working of faith in my soul, no more than the child hath in the begetting of his father. For, saith Paul, It is the gift of God, and not of us. My wit must conclude good or bad, ere my will can love or hate. My wit must shew me a true cause, or an apparent cause why, ere my will have any working at all. And of that peppering it well appeareth what the pope's faith is; even a blind imagination of their natural wit, wrought without the light of the Spirit of God, agreeing unto their voluptuous lusts, in which their beastly will so delighteth, that he will not let their wits attend unto any other learning, for unquieting himself, and stirring from his pleasure and delectation.

Wit must first shew a cause, and then will is stirred to work.

And thus we be as far asunder as ever we were, and his mighty arguments prove not the value of a poding prick. M. More feeleth in his heart by inspiration, and with his endeavouring himself, and captivating his understanding to believe it, that there is a purgatory as hot as hell. Wherein if a silly soul were appointed by God, to lie a thousand years, to purge him withal, the pope for the value of a

More feeleth.

Purgatory.

groat, shall command him thence full purged in the twinkling of an eye, and by as good reason if he were going thence keep him there still. He feeleth by inspiration and in captivating his wits that the pope can work wonders with a calf's skin, that he can command one to eat flesh though he be never so lusty, and that another eat none on pain of damnation, though he should die for lack of it; and that he can forgive sin and not the pain, and as much and as little of the pain, or all if he lust, and yet can neither help him to love the law, or to believe, or to hate the flesh, seeing he preacheth not. And such things innumerable. M. More feeleth true, and therefore believeth that the pope is the true church.

Popish doctrine concerning purgatory.

The pope, how he can both forgive and retain sin.

And I clean contrary feel, that there is no such worldly and fleshly imagined purgatory. For I feel that the souls be purged only by the word of God, and doctrine of Christ, as it is written (John xv.) Ye be clean through the word, saith Christ to his apostles. And I feel again, that he which is clean through the doctrine, needeth not but to wash his feet only, for his head and hands are clean already: (John xiii.) that is, he must tame his flesh, and keep it under, for his soul is clean already through the doctrine. I feel also that bodily pain doth but purge the body only; insomuch that the pain, not only purgeth not the soul, but maketh it more foul, except that there be kind learning by, to purge the soul; so that the more a man beateth his son, the worse he is, except he teach him lovingly, and show him kindness besides, partly to keep him from desperation, and partly that he fall not into hate of his father and of his commandment thereto, and think that his father is a tyrant and his law but tyranny.

Tyndale feeleth purgatory.

John xv.

John xiii.

Bodily pain purgeth the body and not the soul.

M. More feeleth with his good endeavour and inspiration together, that a man may have the best faith coupled with the worst life, and with consenting to sin. And I feel that it is impossible to believe truly, except a man repent, and that it is impossible to trust in the mercy that is in Christ, or to feel it, but that a man must immediately

M. More is of an evil opinion.

love God and his commandments, and therefore disagree and disconsent unto the flesh, and be at hate therewith and fight against it. And I feel that every soul that loveth the law, and hateth his flesh, and believeth in Christ's blood, hath his sins which he committed, and pain which he deserved, in hating the law and consenting unto his flesh, forgiven him by that faith. And I feel that the frailty of the flesh, against which a believing soul fighteth to subdue it, is also forgiven, and not reckoned or imputed for sin all the time of our curing: as a kind father and mother reckon not, or impute the impossibility of their young children to consent unto their law, and as when the children be of age and consent, then they reckon not nor impute the impossibility of the flesh to follow it immediately, but take all a worth and love them no less, but rather more tenderly than their old and perfect children that do their commandments, so long as they go to school and learn such things as their fathers and mothers set them to.

Faith in Christ's blood purchaseth forgiveness of sins.

And I believe that every soul that repenteth, believeth, and loveth the law, is through that faith a member of Christ's church, and pure, without spot or wrinkle, as Paul affirmeth (Eph. v.) And it is an article of my belief that Christ's elect church is holy and pure, without sin, and every member of the same, through faith in Christ, and that they be in the full favour of God. And I feel that the uncleanness of the soul is but the consent unto sin, and unto the flesh. And therefore I feel that every soul that believeth and consenteth unto the law, and here in this life hateth his flesh, and the lusts thereof, and doth his best to drive sin out of his flesh, and for hate of the sin gladly departeth from his flesh, when he is dead, and the lusts of the flesh slain with death, needeth not as it were bodily tormenting to be purged of that whereof he is quit already. And therefore if ought remain, it is but to be taught and not to be beaten. And I feel that every soul that beareth fruit in Christ shall be purged of

Ephes. v.

There is no purgatory for him that dieth repentant and believeth.

the father to bear more fruit day by day, as is written, (John xv.) not in the pope's purgatory where no man feeleth it, but, here in this life, such fruit as is unto his neighbour's profit, so that he which hath his hope in Christ, purgeth himself here, as Christ is pure, (1 John iii.) and that ever yet the blood of Jesus only doth purge us of all our sins, for the imperfectness of our works. And I feel that the forgiveness of sins is to remit mercifully the pain that I have deserved. And I do believe that the pain that I here suffer in my flesh, is to keep the body under, and to serve my neighbour, and not to make satisfaction unto God for the fore sins.

John xv.

1 John iii.

Pain of sin.

And therefore when the pope describeth God after his covetous complexion, and when M. More feeleth by inspiration, and captivating his wits unto the pope, that God forgiveth the everlasting pain, and will yet punish me a thousand years in the pope's purgatory, that leaven savoureth not in my mouth. I understand my father's words as they sound, and after the most merciful manner, and not after the pope's leaven and M. More's captivating his wits, to believe that every poet's fable is a true story. There is no father here that punisheth his son to purge him, when he is purged already, and hath utterly forsaken sin and evil, and hath submitted himself unto his father's doctrine. For to punish a man that has forsaken sin of his own accord, is not to purge him, but to satisfy the lust of a tyrant. Neither ought it to be called purgatory, but a jail of tormenting, and a satisfactory. And when the pope saith it is done to satisfy the righteousness as a judge. I say we that believe have no judge of him, but a father, neither shall we come into judgment as Christ has promised us, but are received under grace, mercy, and forgiveness. Shew the pope a little money, and God is so merciful that there is no purgatory. And why is not the fire out as well if I offer for me the blood of Christ? If Christ hath deserved all for me, who gave the pope might to keep part of his deservings from me, and to buy,

The pope's leaven.

Purgatory profitable to the pope.

Purgatory is a tormenting jail as the pope maketh it.

Money despatcheth purgatory.

and sell Christ's merits, and to make merchandise over us with feigned words. And thus, as M. More feeleth that the pope is holy church, I feel that he is antichrist. And as my feeling can be no proof to him, no more can his, with all his captivating his wits to believe phantasies, be unto me; wherefore if he have no other probation to prove that the pope is holy church, than that his heart so agreeth unto his learning, he ought of no right to compel with sword unto his sect. Howbeit there are ever two manner [of] people that will cleave unto God, a fleshly and a spiritual. The spiritual, which be of God, shall hear God's word, and the children of the truth shall consent unto the truth. And contrary, the fleshly and children of falsehood and of the devil, whose hearts be full of lies, shall naturally consent unto lies, (as young children, though they have eat themselves as good as dead with fruit, yet will not, nor cannot, believe him that telleth them that such fruit is nought; but him that praiseth them will they hear, and eat themselves stark dead, because their hearts be full of lies, and they judge all things as they appear unto the eyes.) And the fleshly minded, as soon as he believed of God as much as the devil doth, he hath enough, and goeth to and serveth God with bodily service, as he before served his idols, and after his own imagination, and not in the Spirit, in loving his laws and believing his promises, or longing for them: no, if he might ever live in the flesh, he would never desire them. And God must do for him again, not what he had promised, but what he lusteth. And his brother that serveth God in the spirit, according to God's word, him will the carnal beast persecute. So that he which will godly live, must suffer persecution unto the world's end, according to the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles, and according unto the ensamples that are gone before.

The pope is antichrist.

The fleshly children do naturally consent unto lies.

The fleshly minded can never consent unto God's law.

The fleshly persecute them of the Spirit.

And finally, I have better reasons for my feeling that the pope is antichrist, than M. More hath for his endeavouring himself, and captivating his wits, that he is the

true church. For the church that was the true messenger of God, hath ever shewed a sign and a badge thereof, either a present miracle, or authentic Scripture, insomuch that Moses when he was sent, asked how shall they believe me? and God gave him a sign, as ever before and since. Neither was there any other cause of the writing of the New, and the last and everlasting Testament, thau that when miracles ceased, we might have wherewith to defend ourselves against false doctrine and heresies, which we could not do, if we were bound to believe that were no where written. And again, if the pope could not err in his doctrine, he could not sin of purpose and profession, abominably and openly, above the Turks and all the heathen that ever were, and defend it so maliciously as he hath viii. hundred years long, and will not be reformed, and maketh them his saints and his defenders that sin as he doth. He persecuteth as the carnal church ever did, when the Scripture is away, he proveth his doctrine with the Scripture, and as soon as the Scripture cometh to light, he runneth away unto his sophistry and unto his sword. We see also by stories how your confession, penance, and pardons are come up, and whence your purgatory is sprung. And your falshood in the sacraments we see by open Scripture. And all your works we rebuke with the Scripture, and therewith prove that the false belief that ye couple to them may not stand with the true faith that is in our Saviour Jesus.

The true church is not without a sign or a miracle to prove that it is God's church.

The pope's life and doctrine is more wicked than the Turks and all the heathen that ever were.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

IN the end of the second chapter, he bringeth in Eutychus, that fell out at a window, (Acts xx.) whom, saith he, St. Paul's merits did recover. Verily Paul durst not say so, but that Christ's merits did it. Peter saith, (Acts iii.) Ye men of Israel, why gaze ye and stare upon us, as though we by our power and godliness had made this man go? Nay, the name of Jesus and

Eutychus.

Acts iii.

All glory and honour is to be given to the name of Jesus.

faith that is in him, hath given him strength, and made him sound. And even here, it was the name of Jesus through Paul's faith that did that miracle, and not Paul's merits, though he were never so holy.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

IN the third chapter he saith, that Bilney's judges, (which he yet nameth not for fear of slandering them) were indifferent. Nay, they that take rewards be not indifferent. For rewards and gifts blind the eyes of the seeing, and pervert the words of the righteous. (Deut. xvii.) Now all they that be shorn take great rewards to defend pilgrimages, purgatory, and praying unto saints: even the third part I trow of all Christendom. For all they have, they have received in the name of purgatory, and of saints, and on that foundation be all their bishoprics, abbies, colleges, and cathedral churches built. If they be indifferent judges, they must be made servants, and do service, as their duty is. And when they have done a quarter's service, then give them wages as right is, unto every man that laboureth in Christ's harvest a sufficient living, and no more, and that in the name of his labour, and not of saints, and so forth. And then they shall be more indifferent judges, when there cometh no vantage to judge more on one side than another.

Judges.

Deut. xvii.

Purgatory is the foundation of abbies colleges, &c.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

IN the end of the fourth he saith, the man took an oath secretly, and was dismissed with secret penance. O, hypocrites, why dare ye not do it openly!

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

IN the fifth the messenger asketh him whether he were present? And he denieth and saith ever, he heard say. Alas, Sir, why take you bribes to defend that you know

not? why suffer you not them that were present, and to whom the matter pertaineth, to lie for themselves?

M. More is a common jester and a scoffer.

Then he jesteth out the matter with Wilken and Simkin; as he doth Hun and every thing, because men should not consider their falsehood earnestly. Wherein behold his subtle conveyance. He asketh, What, if Simkin would have sworn that he saw men make those prints? Whereunto M. More answereth under the name of quod he, that he would swear, that besides the loss of the wager, he had lost his honesty and his soul thereto. Behold this man's gravity, how could you that do when the case is possible? You should have put him to his proofs, and bid him bring record.

Then saith he, the church receiveth no man convict of heresy unto mercy, but of mercy receiveth him to open shame. Of such mercy, God give them plenty that are so merciful.

Then he sheweth how merciful they were ro receive the man to penance that abode still in perjury and deadly sin. O, shameless hypocrites, how can ye receive into the congregation of Christ an open obstinate sinner, that repenteth not, when ye are commanded of Christ to cast all such out? And again, O scribes and pharisees, by what example of Christ and of his doctrine, can ye put a man that repenteth unto open shame, and to that thing whereby ever after he is had in derision among his brethren, of whom he ought to be loved, and not mocked: ye might enjoin honest things, to tame his flesh, as prayer and fasting, and not that which should be to him shame ever after, and such as ye yourselves would not do.

The papists are cruel and unmerciful.

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

Swearing.

IN the seventh chapter, he maketh much to do about swearing, and that for a subtle purpose. Notwithstanding, the truth is, that no judge ought to make a man swear against his will for many inconvenients. If a man re-

ceive an office, he that putteth him in the room ought to charge him to do it truly, and may, and haply ought, to take an oath of him. If a man offer himself to bear witness, the judge may, and of some haply ought, to take an oath of them; but to compel a man to bear witness ought he not. And moreover, if a judge put a man to an oath that he shall answer unto all that he shall be demanded of, he ought to refuse. Howbeit, if he have sworn, and then the wicked judge ask him of things hurtful unto his neighbour, and against the love that is in Christ, then he must repent that he hath sworn, but not sin again to fulfil his oath. For it is against God's commandment, that a man should hurt his neighbour that hath not deserved it.

The oath of a witness may be taken, but no man may be compelled to swear and be a witness.

A godly lesson.

THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.

M. More is a liar.

UNTO church, priest, charity, grace, confession and penance, is answered him in the beginning of the book. And when he saith Tyndale was confederate with Luther, that is not truth.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

THAN his ninth chapter is there nothing more foolish. For if he would have any wise man to believe that my translation would destroy the mass, any otherwise than the Latin or Greek text, he should have alleged the place, and how.

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

IN the eleventh chapter, M. More will not defend the living of our spiritualty, because it is so open that he cannot. And as little should he be able to defend their lies, if the light were abroad that men might see. And as he cannot deny them abominable, so cannot he deny

The papists are obstinate and will not repent.

them obstinate and indurate therein, for they have been oft rebuked with God's word, but in vain. And of such the text is plain that they cannot understand the Scripture. And yet M. More will receive rewards, to dispute against the heresies of some such as be cast out of Christ's churches, by such holy patriarchs, whose images he himself cannot praise. As holy Judas, though the prelates of his church, that is the pharisees, were never so abominable, yet because Christ's doctrine was condemned of them, as of God's church that could not err, and all that believed on him excommunicate, he was bold to say, *Quid vultis mihi dare et ego tradam cum vobis.* That is, what will ye give me and I will deliver him unto you?

Judas.

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER.

IN the twelfth he has one conclusion, that the prayers of an evil priest profit not. Which though it be true, yet the contrary is believed among a great many, in all quarters of England, so blind be the people and wot not what prayer meaneth. I have heard men of no small reputation say, ere this, in great audience, that it maketh no matter whether the priest were good or bad, so he took money to pray, as they seldom pray without, for he could not hurt the prayer were he never so naughty.

Prayers of an evil priest profit not.

A fond saying.

And when he saith that the evil priest hurteth us not so much with his living as he profiteth us with ministering the sacraments. O worldly wisdom, if a man lead me through a jeopardous place by day, he cannot hurt me so greatly as by night! The Turk seeth that murder, theft, extortion, oppression, and adultery be sin. But when he leadeth me by the darkness of sacraments without signification, I cannot but catch harm and put my trust and confidence in that which is neither God nor his word. As for an ensample, what trust put the people in anoiling and how cry they for it, with no other knowledge than that the

To minister Sacraments without signification, is to be led in darkness.

oil saveth them, unto their damnation, and denying of Christ's blood.

Sacrifice.

And when he saith the priest offereth or sacrificeth Christ's body. I answer, Christ was offered once for all, as it is to see in the Epistle to the Hebrews. As the priest slayeth Christ, breaketh his body, and sheddeth his blood, so he sacrificeth him and offereth him. Now the priest slayeth him not actually, nor breaketh his body actually, nor sheddeth his blood actually, neither scourgeth him, and so forth, throughout all his passion; but representeth his slaying, his body breaking, and blood-shedding for my sins, and all the rest of his passion, and playeth it before mine eyes only. Which signification of the mass, because the people understand not, therefore they receive no forgiveness of their sins thereby, and thereto cannot but catch hurt in their souls, through a false faith as it well appeareth, how every man cometh thereto for a sundry imagination, all ignorant of the true way.

Heb. x.

Christ's body in the Sacrament is not carnal, but spiritual.

Let no man beguile you with his juggling sophistry. Our offering of Christ is to believe in him, and to come with a repenting heart unto the remembrance of his passion, and to desire God the Father for the breaking of Christ's body on the cross, and shedding of his blood, and for his death, and all his passions, to be merciful unto us, and to forgive us according to his Testament and promise. And so we receive forgiveness of our sins. And other offering or sacrificing of Christ is there now none. Walk in the open light and feeling, and let not yourselves be led with juggling words, as mules and asses in which there is none understanding.

Christ was sacrificed on the cross once for all.

MORE. Deacons were had in price in the old time.

More.

Deacons.

TYNDALE. For the deacons then took the care of all the poor, and suffered none to go a begging, but provided a living for every one of them. Where now, they that should be deacons, make themselves priests and rob the poor of lands, rents, offerings and all that was given them, devouring all themselves, and the poor dying for hunger.

Tyndale.

Christ's deacons, and the pope's deacons differ much.

MORE. Priests be despised because of the multitude. More.

TYNDALE. If there were but one in the world, as men say of the phœnix, yet if he lived abominably, he could not but be despised. Priests. Tyndale.

MORE. A man may have a good faith coupled with all manner [of] sin. More.

TYNDALE. A good faith putteth away all sin, how then can all manner of sin dwell with a good faith? I dare say, that M. More durst affirm, that a man might love God and hate his neighbour both at once, and yet St. John in his Epistle will say that he saith untruly. But M. More meaneth of the best faith that ever he felt. By all likelihood he knoweth of no other but such as may stand with all wickedness, neither in himself nor in his prelates, wherefore inasmuch as their faith may stand with all that Christ hateth, I am sure he looketh not for small thanks of God for his defending of them. And therefore he playeth surely, to take his reward here of our holy patriarchs. Tyndale. 1. John iv. M. More's faith was a common faith.

MORE. Few durst be priests in the old time. More.

TYNDALE. Then they knew the charge, and feared God. But now they know the vantage, and dread him not. Tyndale.

MORE. If the laws of the church were executed which Tyndale and Luther would have burnt, it would be better. More.

TYNDALE. If the Testament of our Saviour might be known for blind wretches and covetous tyrants, it would write the law of God in all men's hearts that believed it; and then should men naturally and without compulsion keep all honesty. And again though the pope's law could help, yet is no law as good as a law unexecuted. Tyndale. As good no law, as a law not executed.

THE THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

IN the thirteenth he rageth, and fareth exceeding foul with himself. There he biteth, sucketh, gnaweth, towseth and mowseth Tyndale. There he weneth that he hath

won his spurs, and that it is not possible to answer him. And yet there, because he there most standeth in his own conceit, I doubt not unto them that be learned in Christ to prove him most ignorant of all, and clean without understanding of godly things.

Age is to be preferred before youth.

And I say yet, that as no woman ought to rule a man's office where a man is present, by the order of nature; and as a young man ought not to be chosen to minister in the church, where an old meet for the room may be had by the order of nature; even so it was Paul's meaning to prefer the married before the unmarried, for the inconveniences that might chance by the reason of unchastity, which inconveniences M. More might see with sorrow of heart, (if he had as great love to Christ as to other things) to happen daily unto the shame of Christ's doctrine among priests, friars, and monks, partly with open whores, partly with their sodomy, whereof they cast each other in the teeth daily in every abbey, for the least displeasure that one doth to another. M. More might see what occasions of unchastity be given unto the curates every where by the reason of their office and daily conversation with the married.

The chaste unchastity of the papists is abominable both to God and man.

St. Jerom.

And when he saith, never man could find that exposition till now: there he saith untrue. For St. Jerom himself saith that he knew them that so expounded the text, and rebuked them of Rome because they would not admit into the clergy them that had had two wives, the one before baptism, and the other after, saying: If a man had killed twenty men before his baptism, they would not have forbidden him, and why then should that which is no sin at all be a let unto him? But the god of Rome would not hear him. For Satan began then to work his mysteries of wickedness.

The pope judgeth no sin to be sin, and sin to be no sin.

And when he saith, he that hath ten wives hath one wife. I say that one is taken by the use of speaking for one only. As when I say, I am content to give thee one, meaning one only. And unto him that hath no help, is there one

help, to look for no [other] help; where one help is taken for one only, and many places else.

And when M. More saith, he that hath had two wives one after another may not be priest, and that if a priest's wife die, he may not have another; or that if he were made priest having no wife, he might not after marry if he burnt. I desire a reason of him: If he say, it hath been so the use: then say I, an whore is better than a wife, for that hath been the use of our holy father many hundred years. But I affirm unto M. More the contrary. And I say first with Paul, that the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, and by the same reason neither husband or wife, but the keeping of the commandments, and to love every man his neighbour as himself. And therefore as meat and drink were ordained for man's necessity, and as a man may eat and drink at all needs in all degrees, so far as it letteth him not to keep the commandments and to love his neighbour as himself; even so was the wife created for the man's necessity, and therefore may a man use her at all his need in all degrees, as far as she letteth him not to keep God's law, which is nothing else by Paul's learning, than that a man love his neighbour as himself. Now I desire a reason of M. More's doctrine, what doth my second wife, or my third, hinder me to love my neighbour as myself, and to do him service against I come to be priest? What let is your second wife to you to serve our holy father the pope, more than your first would have been? And in like manner if my first wife die, when I am a priest, why may I not love my neighbour, and do him as good service with the second as with the first? And again, if I be made priest, having no wife, and after burn, and therefore marry, why may I not love my neighbour and serve him with that wife, as well as he that brought a wife with him?

A priest by the pope's order may have a whore, but not a wife. Rom. xiv.

More's doctrine is superstitious.

It was not for nought that Paul prophesied that some should depart from the faith, and attend unto deceivable spirits, and devilish doctrine; forbidding to marry and to

1 Tim. iv.

The pope forbiddeth marriage.

eat meats which God hath created to be received with thanks of them that know the truth, to buy dispensations, to use lawful meat and unlawful wives.

Apparent godliness why the priest may not have the second wife.

And I ask M. More why he that hath the second wife, or hath had two wives, may not be a priest; or why if a priest's first wife die, he may not marry the second. He will answer, Because the priest must represent the mysteries or secret properties and union of Christ the only husband of his only wife the church or congregation that believeth in him only. That is, as I have in other places said, the Scripture describeth us in matrimony the mysteries and secret benefits which God the Father hath hid in Christ for all them that be chosen and ordained to believe and put their trust in him to be saved. As when a man taketh a wife, he giveth her himself, his honour, his riches, and all that he hath, and maketh her of equal degree unto himself; if he be king, and she before a beggar's daughter, yet she is not the less queen, and in honour above all other. If he be emperor, she is empress, and honoured of men as the emperor, and partaker of all. Even so if a man repent, and come, and believe in Christ to be saved from the damnation of the sin of which he repenteth, Christ is his own good immediately; Christ's death, pain, prayer, passion, fasting, and all his merits are for that man's sins a full satisfaction, and a sacrifice of might and power to absolve him *a pœna et a culpa*. Christ's inheritance, his love and favour that he hath with God his Father, are that man's by and by; and the man by that marriage is pure as Christ, and clean without sin, and honourable, glorious, well-beloved, and in favour through the grace of that marriage. And because that the priest must represent us this signification, is the cause why a priest may not have the second wife, say they; which popish reason hath deceived many wise, as who can be but deceived in some thing, if he receive all his doctrine by the authority of his elders? except he have an occasion as we have, to run to Moses and the prophets, and there

Christ's benefits toward us are figured by matrimony.

hear and see with our own eyes, and believe no longer by the reason of our forefathers, when we see them so shamefully beguiled themselves, and to beguile us in a thousand things which the Turks see.

Now to our purpose: if this doctrine be true, then must every priest have a wife, or have had a wife. For he that never had a wife, cannot represent us this. And again, he that hath an whore, or another man's wife, hath lost this property, and therefore ought to be put down.

And again, the second marriage then of no man is, or can be, a sacrament by that doctrine. And yet I will describe you the marriage of Christ as well by his marriage that hath had nine wives, and hath now the tenth, as by his that hath now the first.

O, will they say, his wife was no virgin, or he, when they were married. Sir, the signification standeth not in the virginity but in the actual wedlock. We were no virgins when we came to Christ, but common whores believing in a thousand idols.

We were idolaters when we came to Christ.

And in the second marriage or tenth, and ye will the man hath but one wife, and all his are hers; and his other wives be in a land where is no husband or wife. I say therefore with Paul, that this is a devilish doctrine, and hath a similitude of godliness with it, but the power is away. The mist of it blindeth the eyes of the simple and beguileth them, that they cannot see a thousand abominations wrought under that cloak.

And therefore I say still, that the apostle's meaning was, that he should have a wife, if haply his age were not the greater, and that by one wife he excludeth them that had two, and them that were defamed with other save their own wives, and would have them to be such as were known of virtuous living, for to do reverence and honour unto the doctrine of Christ. As it appeareth by the widows which he excludeth before sixty years, for fear of unchastity, and admitteth yet none of that age, except she were well known of chaste, honest, and godly behaviour, and

St. Paul's doctrine is that priests should have wives.

that to honour God's word withal, than which the pope hath nothing more vile. And when M. More, to mock, bringeth forth the text of the widow that she must be the wife of one man: I answer for all his jesting, that Paul excludeth not her that had ten husbands one after another, but her that had two husbands at once. And when More laugheth at it, as though it had never been the guise, I would to God, for his mercy, that it were not the guise at this day, and then I am sure his wrath would not be so great as it is. Paul meaneth only that he would have no defamed woman chosen widow for dishonouring the word of God and the congregation of Christ, and therefore excludeth common women, and such as were defamed besides their husbands and haply the divorced thereto. And that I prove by the same doctrine of Paul, that the kingdom of God is no such business but the keeping of God's commandments only, and to love one another. Now, look on the thing and on the office of the widow. It was but to wait on the sick and poor people, and to wash strangers' feet. Now the widows of ten husbands must have been found of the cost of the congregation, if they were destitute of friends as all other poor were, though in time past they have been defamed persons.

Widows.

More is a scoffer.

But under sixty would Paul let none minister for fear of occasions of unchastity, and thereto none but such as were well known of honest living and of good report. Now, inasmuch as the widow of ten husbands must be found of the common cost at her need, what uncleanness is in her by the reason of her second husband, that she is not good enough to be a servant unto the poor people, to dress their meat, wash their clothes, to make their beds, and so forth, and to wash strangers' feet, that came out of one congregation unto another about business, and to do all manner [of] service of love unto her poor brethren and sisters. To have had the second husband is no shame among the heathen: it is no shame among the Christian; for when the husband is dead, the wife is free to

The office of the widows in the primitive church.

marry to whom she will in the Lord, and by as good reason the husband, and of right who more free than the priest? And therefore they shame not our doctrine nor our congregation, nor dishonour God among the heathen or weak Christian. Now when we have a plain rule that he, which loveth his neighbour as himself, keepeth all the laws of God, let him tell me for what cause of love toward his neighbour, a widow of two lawful husbands may not do service unto the poor people. Rom. xiii.

Why may not a widow of fifty do service unto the poor? Paul which knitteth no snares nor leadeth us blind, nor teacheth us without a reason given of his doctrine, answereth, for fear of occasions of evil, lest she be tempted or tempt other: and then if she be taken in misdoing, the doctrine of Christ be evil spoken of thereto and the weak offended.

And when M. More mocketh with my reason that I would have every priest to have a wife because few men can live chaste; I answer, that if he loved the honour of Christ and his neighbour as he doth his own covetousness, he should find that a good argument.

Paul maketh the same, and much more slenderly than I, after your sophistry. For he disputeth thus: some young widows do dishonest the congregation of Christ and his doctrine, therefore shall no young widow at all minister in the common service thereof; but shall all be married and bear children and serve their husbands. And it is a far less rebuke to the doctrine of Christ and his congregation, that a woman should do amiss, than the bishop or priest. I am not so mad to think that there could no priest at all live chaste. Neither am I so foolish to think that there be not as many women that could live chaste at fifty, as priests at twenty-four. And yet though of a thousand widows of fifty years old, nine hundred and ninety-nine could live chaste, Paul, because he knoweth not that one will, let none at all minister in the common service among occasions of unchastity. Christ's apos- Young widows were forbidden to minister in the common service.

tles considered all infirmities and all that might hinder the doctrine of Christ, and therefore did their best to prevent all occasions. Wherefore, as fish is no better than flesh, nor flesh better than fish in the kingdom of Christ; even so virginity, wedlock, and widowed are none better than other, to be saved by, in their own nature, or to please God withal; but with whatsoever I may best serve my brethren, that is ever best according unto the time and fashion of the world. In persecution it is good for every man to live chaste if he can, and namely for the preacher. In peace, when a man may live quietly and abide in one place, a wife is a sure thing to cut off occasions.

Fish no better than flesh, nor flesh no better than fish, in the kingdom of Christ.

More. Then he would make it seem that priests' wives were

Tyndale. the occasions of heresies in Almany. Nay, they fell first to heresies and then took wives; as ye fell first to the the pope's holy doctrine and then took whores.

More. MORE. The church bindeth no man to chastity.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. Of a truth, for it giveth license to whosoever will, to keep whores, and permitteth to abuse mens' wives and suffereth sodomy, and doth but only forbid matrimony.

Three lies at once. And when he saith, chastity was almost received by general custom, before the law was made: one lie. And good fathers did but give their advice thereto: another lie. And it was ratified and received with the consent of all Christendom: the third lie.

They did well to choose a poet to be their defender. First, it was attempted in general council and resisted by holy fathers which yet themselves were never married, saying that men might not knit a snare for their weak brethren, against the doctrine of Christ and his apostles. Neither could it be brought to pass, until the pope had got the emperor's sword out of his hand. The Greeks which were the one half of Christendom then I suppose, would never admit it.

Now, godly love would never suffer them to consent that we should be bound unto that burden which they

themselves could not bear, as M. More in another place affirmeth that they did. And again, we have manifest stories that it was brought in with violence of sword and that all the priests of Germany were compelled to put away their wives. And we find that wheresoever the pope reigneth, he came in with deceiving the king of the country, and then with his sword compelled the rest. The pope came but now late into Wales, to reign there over the bishops and priests, and that with the sword of the king of England.

Priests compelled to put away their wives.

And yet though all the clergy of Christendom had granted it, all the church had not made it, nor yet the tenth part of the church. The lay people be as well of the church as the priests. Neither can all the priests in the world of right make any law wherein their part lieth without their consent. Now it pertaineth unto the common people, and most of all unto the weakest, that their priests be endued with all virtue and honesty. And the chastity of his wife, daughter and servant pertaineth unto every particular man, which we see by experience defiled daily, by the unchaste chastity of the spiritualty.

Priests must be endued with virtue and honesty.

Wherefore if the parishes, or any one parish, after they had seen the experience what inconveniences came of their chastity, would have no curate except he had a wife, to cut off occasions; as Paul, when he had seen that proof, would have no young widows minister; who, save a tyrant, should be against them?

General councils.

Moreover, the general councils of the spiritualty are of no other manner, since the pope was a god, than the general parliaments of the temporalty. Where no man dare say his mind freely and liberally for fear of some one, and of his flatterers.

Parliament.

The manner used both in general councils, and also in parliaments.

And look in what captivity the parliaments be under the private councils of kings, so are the general councils under the pope and his cardinals. And this is the manner of both. Some one two or three wily foxes, that have all other in subjection, (as ye have seen in my lord

cardinal,) imagine, not what ought to be, but what they lust to have and conceive in their own brains and go with child, sometime a year, two, three, four, five, six, or seven, and sometimes twenty, and above, casting, canvassing and compassing for the birth against opportunity: opening the matter privily under an oath a little and a little unto certain secretaries whose part is therein, as they find men of activity and of courage, prepare to sell soul and body for promotion.

And the matter in the mean time is turmoiled and tossed among themselves: and persuasions and subtle reasons are forged to blind the right way and to beguile men's wits. And whom they fear to have adversaries able to resist them, for such means are sought to bring them in unto their party or to convey them out of the way. And when opportunity is come, they call a council or parliament under a contrary pretence. And a mass, of the Holy Ghost, whom they desire as far away as were possible, is sung, and a goodly sermon is made, to blear men's eyes withal. And then suddenly other men unprovided, the matter is opened, after the most subtle manner. And many are beguiled with subtle arguments and crafty persuasions. And they that hold hard against them are called aside, and reasoned with apart, and handled after a fashion, and partly enticed with fair promises and partly feared with cruel threatenings, and so some are overcome with silver syllogisms, and other for fear of threatening are driven unto silence. And if any be found at the last, that will not obey their falsehood and tyranny, they rail on him, and jest him out of countenance, and call him opinative, self-minded and obstinate, and bear him in hand that the devil is in him that he so cleaveth unto his own wit, though he speak no syllable but God's word, and is asked whether he will be wiser than other men? And in the spiritualty, they excommunicate him and make an heretic of him. And this to be true in the clergy's chastity is as clear as the day by manifest chronicles, insomuch

A practice used in all councils and parliaments.

The spiritualty make heretics of them that resist their power and will.

that the prelates of Rome were a brewing it above an hundred years, and I wot not how long longer, ere they could bring it to pass, and yet in vain till they had got the emperor's sword to prove that it was most expedient so to be. And for what intent? to bring all under the pope, and that the prelates of all lands might, as the old manner was, come and wait on the pope at Rome, where he prepared them whores enough.

Why priests may have no wives.

And that his sworn prelates in every land might the more conveniently wait in kings' courts, to minister the commonwealth unto the pope's pleasure and profit. For had the clergy kept their wives, they could never have come unto this, where they now be, and to these pluralities, unions and totquots. For there is no lay man, though he were never so evil disposed, that could for his wife and children have leisure to contrive such mischief, and to run from country to country to learn falsehood and subtilty, as our spiritualty do; which without fear of God, and shame of man, keep whores wheresoever they come. And thus ye see that the clergy's chastity pertaineth as much unto the temporalty as unto the spiritualty.

The chastity of the clergy pertaineth to the temporalty, as much as to the spiritualty.

And another is this, no power among them that profess the truth may bind where God looseth, save only where love and my neighbour's necessity requireth it of me. Neither can any power now bind them to come, but they may freely keep or break as the thing is hurtful or expedient. Neither can there be any bond where love and necessity requireth the contrary. So that this law, Love thy neighbour to help him as thou wouldest be holp, must interpret all man's laws.

As if I had sworn young, or unwisely, that I would live chaste, and all the world had bound me; if afterward I burnt, and could not overcome the passion, I ought to marry.

For I must condition my vow, and shew a cause of it thereto. I may not vow for the chastity itself, as though it were sacrifice to please God in itself, for that is the idola-

Vows.

try of heathen. I must therefore vow to do my neighbour service (which in that case he may not require) or to give myself more quietly to prayer and study, (which is not possible as long as I burn, and the mind will not be quiet) or that I may the better keep the laws of God, which if I burn, I stand through my chastity in more jeopardy to break and to hurt my neighbour, and to shame the doctrine of Christ. And in like manner, if I had forsworn flesh, and all the world had bound me, yet if necessity required it of me, to save my life or my health, I ought to break it. And again, though I had sworn chastity, and the commonwealth or the necessity of another required the contrary, I must break it. But on the one side, of all that ever burnt in the pope's chastity, he never gave priest license to take wife, but to keep whores only. And on the other side, all that vow any vow, do it for the thing itself, as though it were, as I said, service or sacrifice to God, that had delight in the deed, as young children have in apples; and for that deed they shall have an higher room in heaven than their neighbours, which is the idolatry of the heathen; when he ought to bestow his vow upon his neighbour to bring him to heaven, and not to envy him, and to seek thereby an higher room, not caring whether his neighbour come thither or no. And, finally, to burn, and not to use the natural remedy that God hath made, is but to tempt God, as in all other things. But if God have brought thee into a strait, and have thereto taken the natural remedy from thee, then to resist and cry unto God for help, and to suffer, is a sign that thou lovest God's laws. And to love God's law is to be sure that thou art God's child elect to mercy. For in all his children only he writeth that token.

No oath is to be kept that is against chastity or necessity.

And then he saith, every man hath his choice whether he will be priest or no. But what nets and snares doth antichrist lay for them?

The pope's snares.

1. First his false doctrine, wherewith the elders, beguiled, compel their children, and sacrifice them to burn in the

pope's chastity, with no other mind than those old idolaters sacrificed their children unto the false god Moloch; so that they think, by the merits of their children's burning, after the pope's false doctrine, to please God and to get heaven, clean ignorant of the testament made in Christ's blood.

Then what a multitude are blinded and drawn into the net, with the bait of promotion, honour, dignity, pleasures, freedom, and liberty to sin, and to do all mischief unpunished, things which all evil that fear not God do desire! 2.

And what a number brought up idly unto twenty and above, then put their heads in his halter, because they have no other craft to get their livings; and not because they can live chaste! 3.

Also some live chaste at twenty-four which same burn at thirty. And that to be true, daily experience teacheth, and good natural causes there be. 4.

And then look on the apostle's learning and ordinance. When one or two young widows had broken their chastity, he would never after let any more be chosen of the same age. How cometh it then that the pope, for so many hundred thousands that miscarry, will neither break the ordinance, or mitigate it, or let any go back; but if any burn, sendeth them unto the shame of Christ's doctrine, and offending and hurt of his church, and never unto the lawful remedy of marriage. 5.

And when M. More calleth it heresy to think that the married were as pleasant to God as the unmarried, he is surely an heretic that thinketh the contrary. Christ's kingdom is neither meat nor drink, nor husband nor wife, nor widow nor virgin; but the keeping of the commandments and serving of a man's neighbour lovingly by the doctrine of St. Paul, where, not to eat helpeth me to keep the commandments better than to eat, there it is better not to eat, than to eat. And where to eat helpeth me to keep the commandments and to do my duty unto my neighbour, there it is better to eat, than not to eat. And in like case where to be without a wife, helpeth more to keep the com-

Tyndale doth here plainly prove More an heretic.

That is ever best that moveth man to the keeping of God's commandments.

mandments, and to serve a man's neighbour, there it is better to be unmarried than married; and where a wife helpeth to keep the commandments better than to be without, there it is better to have a wife than to be without. That heart only which is ready to do, or let undone, all things for his neighbour's sake, is a pleasant thing in the sight of God.

Devilish doctrine.

And when he will have the priests to live chaste, for reverence of the sacraments; it is devilish doctrine, having the similitude of godliness, but the pith and marrow is away. If he mean water, oil, salt, and such like, then is the wife with her body and all her uses in the laws of God, incomparably purer and holier. If he mean the sacrament of Christ's body, I answer, that the hands defile not the man, nor aught that goeth through the hands, be they never so unwashed, by the testimony of Christ; and much less can they then defile Christ.

Matt. xv.

Christ's natural body is not in the sacrament.

Moreover, the priest toucheth not Christ's natural body with his hands, by your own doctrine, nor seeth it with his eyes, nor breaketh it with his fingers, nor eateth it with his mouth, nor chammeth it with his teeth, nor drinketh his blood with his lips, for Christ is impassable. But he that repenteth toward the law of God, and at the sight of the sacrament, or of the breaking, feeling, eating, chamming, or drinking, calleth to remembrance the death of Christ, his body breaking and blood shedding for our sins, and all his passion, the same eateth our Saviour's body and drinketh his blood through faith only, and receiveth forgiveness of all his sins thereby, and other not. And all that have not this doctrine of the sacrament come thereto in vain. And therefore there is no more cause that he which saith the mass should live chaste, than he that heareth it; or he that ministereth the sacrament, than he that receiveth it. It is to me great marvel that unlawful whoredom, covetousness, and extortion, cannot defile their hands, as well as lawful matrimony. Cursed therefore be their devilish doctrine with false appearing godliness, the fruit and power away out of the hearts of all Christian men.

The sacrament of the body and blood of Christ how it must be received.

And when he bringeth the ensample of the heathen, I praise him. For the heathen because they could not understand God spiritually, to serve him in the Spirit, to believe in him, and to love his laws, therefore they turned his glory unto an image; and served him after their own imagination with bodily service, as the whole kingdom of the pope doth, having less power to serve him in spirit than the Turks. For when the heathen made an image of the axes or fevers, and sacrificed thereto, they knew that the image was not the fevers; but, under the similitude of the image, they worshipped the power of God which plagued them with the fevers, with bodily service, as the pope doth above all the idolaters that ever were in the world. As when we paint Saint Michael weighing the souls, and stick up a candle to flatter him, and to make him favourable unto us, and regard not the testament of Christ, nor the laws of God, because we have no power to believe nor to love truth. And even so, to refer virginity unto the person of God, to please him therewith, is false sacrifice and heathenish idolatry. For the only service of God is to believe in Christ and to love the law. Wherefore thou must refer thy wedlock, thy virginity, and all thy other deeds unto the keeping of the law, and serving thy neighbour only. And then when thou lookest with a loving heart on the law that saith, Break not wedlock, keep no whore, and so forth, and findest thy body weak, and thine office such that thou must have conversation with men's wives, daughters and servants, then it is better to have a wife than to be without. And again, if thou see service to be done that thou canst not so well do with a wife as without, then if thou have power to be without, it is best so to be, and in such like. And else the one is as good as the other, and no difference. And to take a wife for pleasure, is as good as to abstain for pleasure.

St. Michael weigheth the souls.

The true service of God. What it is.

And when M. More seeth no other cause, why it is not best that our spiritualty were all gelded, than for loss of

merit in resisting, besides that that imagination is plain idolatry, I hold M. More beguiled, if all we read of gelded men be true, and the experience we see in other beasts. For then the gelded lust in their flesh as much as the ungelded. Which if it be true, then the gelded, in that he taketh such great pain in gelding, not to minish his lusts, but if lusts overcome him, yet that he have not wherewith to hurt his neighbour; deserveth more than the ungelded. And then it were best that we did eat and drink, and make our flesh strong that we burned, to deserve in resisting, as some of your holy saints have laid virgins in their beds, to kindle their courage, that they might after quench their heat in cold water, to deserve the merit of holy martyrs.

Whether it were best that priests were gelded.

And when he saith, the priests of the old law abstained from their wives when they served in the temple. Many things were forbidden them, to keep them in bond and servile fear, and for other purposes. And yet I trow he findeth it not in the text, that they were forbidden their wives. And when he imagineth so because Zacharias, when his course was out, get him home to his house, I think it was better for him to go to his house, than to send for his house to him; he was also old and his wife too. But and if they were forbidden, it was but for a time, to give them to prayer, as we might do right well and as well as they. But I read that they were forbidden to drink wine, and strong drink, when they ministered: of which our's pour in without measure.

Lev. x.

More. M. MORE. Christ lived chaste and exhorted unto chastity.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. We be not all of Christ's complexion, neither exhorteth he to other chastity than wedlock, save at a time to serve our neighbours. Now the pope's chastity is not to serve a man's neighbour, but to run to riot and to carry away with him the living of the poor, and of the true preacher; even the tithes of five or six parishes, and to go, and either dwell by a stews or to carry a stews with him, or to corrupt other men's wives.

Paphnutius, a man that never proved marriage is praised in the stories, for resisting such doctrine with God's word, in a general council before the pope was a God. And now M. More, a man that hath proved it twice, is magnified for defending it with sophistry. And again me seemeth that it is a great oversight of M. More to think that Christ, though he were never married, would not more accept the service of a married man that would more say truth for him than they that abhor wedlock: inasmuch as the spiritualty accept his humble service, and reward his merits with so high honour, because he can better feign for them, than any of their unchaste (I would say own chaste) people, though he be Bigamus, and past the grace of his neck verse.

Paphnutius.

More had two wives and therefore was Bigamus.

And finally, if M. More look so much on the pleasure that is in marriage, why setteth he not his eyes on the thanksgiving for that pleasure, and on the patience of other displeasures?

THE FOURTEENTH CHAPTER.

MORE. Wicliffe was the occasion of the utter subversion of the realm of Bohemia, both in faith and good living, and of the loss of many a thousand lives.

More.

TYNDALE. The rule of their faith are Christ's promises, and rule of their living God's law. And as for loss of lives, it is truth that the pope slew, I think, an hundred thousand of them, because of their faith, and that they would no longer serve him. As he slew in England many a thousand, and slew the true king and set up a false, unto the effusion of all the noble blood and murdering up of the commonalty, because he should be his defender.

Tyndale.

The pope a cruel tyrant.

MORE. The constitution of the bishops is not that the Scripture shall not be in English, but that no man may translate it by his own authority or read it, until they had approved it.

More.

TYNDALE. If no translation shall be had until they

Tyndale.

give licence or till they approve it, it shall never be had. And so it is all one in effect, to say there shall be none at all in English; and to say, till we admit it; seeing they be so malicious that they will none admit, but feign all the cavillations they can, to prove it were not expedient. So that if it be not had spite of their hearts it shall never be had. And thereto, they have done their best to have had it enacted by Parliament, that it should not be in English.

The spiritualty would not have the Scripture in English.

THE FIFTEENTH CHAPTER.

Hun.

HE jested out Hun's death with his poetry wherewith he built Utopia. Many great lords came to Baynard's Castle, (but all nameless) to examine the cause (as the credible prelates so well learned, so holy and so indifferent, which examined Bilney and Arthur be also all nameless.)

More. Horsey.

MORE. Horsey took his pardon, because it is not good to refuse God's pardon and the king's.

Tyndale.

TYNDALE. God's pardon can no man have except he knowledge himself a sinner. And even so he that receiveth the king's yieldeth himself guilty. And moreover it is not possible that he which putteth his trust in God, should for fear of the twelve men or of his judges, receive pardon for that he never was faulty, unto the dishonouring of our Saviour Jesus, but would have denied it rather unto the death.

If we be not guilty we need no pardon.

More would excuse the murder of

And thereto, if the matter were so clear as ye jest it out, then I am sure the king's grace's both courtesy and wisdom would have charged the judges to have examined the evidence laid against him diligently; and so to have quit him with more honesty than to give him pardon of that he never trespassed in, and to have rid the spiritualty out of hate and all suspicion.

Hun.

Then saith he, Hun was sore suspect of heresy, and convict. And after he saith, Hun was an heretic indeed, and in peril so to be proved. And then how was he con-

vict? I heard say, that he was first convict, when he was dead, and then they did wrong to burn him, till they had spoken with him, to wete whether he would abjure or no.

MORE. The Bishop of London was wise, virtuous and cunning. More.

TYNDALE. For all those three yet he would have made the old Dean Colet of Paul's an heretic, for translating the *Paternoster* in English, had not the bishop of Canterbury holp the Dean. Tyndale. Doctor Colet.

THE SIXTEETH CHAPTER.

THE messenger asked him, if there be an old lawful translation before Wicliffe's, how happeneth it that it is in so few men's hands, seeing so many desire it? He answereth, the printer dare not print it, and then hang on a doubtful trial, whether it were translated since or before; for if it were translated since, it must be first approved. Old translation.

What may not M. More say by authority of his poetry? there is a lawful translation that no man knoweth, which is as much as no lawful translation. Why might not the bishops shew which were that lawful translation, and let it be printed? Nay, if that might have been obtained of them with large money it had been printed, ye may be sure, long ere this. But Sir, answer me hereunto: how happeneth that ye defenders translate not one yourselves, to cease the murmur of the people, and put to your own glosses, to prevent heretics? ye would no doubt have done it long since, if ye could have made your glosses agree with the text in every place. And what can you say to this, how that besides they have done their best to disanul all translating by parliament, they have disputed before the king's grace, that is it perilous and not meet, and so concluded that it shall not be, under a pretence of defering it of certain years: where M. More was their special orator, to feign lies for their purpose. More was a subtle poet. The having of the Scripture in English is utterly against the minds of the popish clergy.

More. MORE. Nothing discourageth the clergy so much as that they of the worst sort most calleth after it.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. It might well be, pharisees full of holiliness long not after it, but publicans that hunger after mercy might sore desire it. Howbeit, it is in very deed a suspect thing, and a great sign of an heretic to require it.

The Scripture was first delivered to the people in their vulgar tongue. Then he juggleth with allegories. Sir, Moses delivered them all that he had received of God, and that in the mother tongue in which all that had the heart thereto studied, and not the priests only, as thou mayest see in the Scripture. And the apostles kept nothing behind, as Paul testified, (Acts xx.) how he had shewed them all the counsel of God, and had kept nought back. Should the lay people less hearken unto the expositions of the prelates in doubtful places, if the text were in their hands when they preached?

More. MORE. The Jews gave great reverence unto the Bible, and we sit on it.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. The pope putteth it under his feet and treadeth on it, in token that he is Lord over it, that it should serve him, and he not it.

More. MORE. God hath ordained the ordinaries for chief physicians.

Tyndale. The ordinaries are hangmen to such as desire the knowledge of the Scripture. TYNDALE. They be lawyers ordained of the pope, and can no more skill of the Scripture than they that never saw it: yea, and have possessed a contrary doctrine. They be right hangmen to murder whosoever desireth for that doctrine that God hath given to be the ordinary of our faith and living.

None can understand the Scripture except he knew Christ to be his justification. And when he maketh so great difficulty and hardness in Paul's epistles; I say, it is impossible to understand either Peter or Paul, or aught at all in the Scripture, for him that denieth the justifying of faith in Christ's blood. And again, it is impossible to understand in the Scripture more than a Turk, for whosoever hath not the law of God written in his heart to fulfil it. Of which point and

of true faith too, I fear me that you are void and empty, with all your spiritualty, whose defender ye have taken upon you to be, for to mock out the truth for lucre and vantage.

AN ANSWER TO M. MORE'S FOURTH BOOK.

CHRIST'S church hath the true doctrine already, and the self same that St. Paul would not give an angel audience unto the contrary. More.

TYNDALE. But the pope's church will not hear that doctrine. Tyndale.

MORE. Confirmed with such a multitude of miracles, and so much blood of martyrs, and common consent of all Christendom. More.

TYNDALE. Who shewed a miracle to confirm his preaching of ear confession and pardons with like pedlary? or who shed his blood for them? I can shew you many thousands that ye have slain for preaching the contrary. And again, Grecia, the one half of Christendom, consenteth not unto them, which Greeks, if such things had come from the apostles, should have them had ere ye. Tyndale.

Ear confession and pardons were never confirmed by miracle.

MORE. The spiritualty be not so tender eared, but that they may hear their sins rebuked. More.

TYNDALE. They consent not unto the way of truth, but sin of malice, and of profession. And therefore as they have no power to repent, even so can they not but persecute both him that rebuketh them and his doctrine too, after the ensamples of the pharisees and all tyrants that began before; namely, if the preacher touch any ground whereby they should be reformed, or by what means they maintain their mischief. Tyndale.

The popish spiritualty are tyrants and persecutors.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

More. MORE. A friar's living that hath married a nun, maketh it easy to know that his doctrine is not good.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. The profession of either other is plain idolatry, and deceiving of a man's soul and robbing him of his good, and taken upon them ignorantly thereto. Wherefore when they be come unto the knowledge of the truth, they ought no longer therein to abide; but the pope's forbidding matrimony; and to eat of meats created of God for man's use, which is devilish doctrine by Paul's prophecy; his giving licence to hold whores; his continual occupying of princes in shedding of christian blood; his robbing of the poor throughout Christendom of all that was given to maintain them; his setting up in Rome a stews, not of women only, but of the male kind against nature, and a thousand abominations too gross for a Turk, are tokens good enough that he is the right antichrist and his doctrine sprung of the devil.

Pope forbiddeth matrimony and the eating of meats.

The wicked and monstrous doings of the pope.

More. MORE. In penance Martin saith there needeth no contrition nor satisfaction.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. Call it repentance and then it is contrition of itself. And as for mends-making with worldly things, that do to thy brother whom thou hast offended, and unto God offer the repentance of thine heart, and the satisfaction of Christ's blood.

More MORE. Tyndale saith that the confessor uttereth the confessions of them that be rich. But yet we see that both rich and poor keep whores openly without paying penny.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. If they be very rich they be suffered because they may be good defenders of the spiritualty, and if they be very poor, because they have no money to pay, or else they find with one or other secretly.

More. MORE. Upon that lie Tyndale buildeth the destruction of the sacrament of penance.

Tyndale TYNDALE. Sacrament is a sign signifying what I

should do, or believe, or both. As baptism is the sign of repentance, signifying that I must repent of evil, and believe to be saved therefrom by the blood of Christ. Now, sir, in your penance describe us which is the sign and the outward sacrament, and what is the thing that I must do or believe, and then we will ensearch whether it may be a sacrament or no. All sacraments teach us what to do, or what to believe.

MORE. Tyndale saith that confession is the worst invention that ever was. More.

TYNDALE. As ye fashion it, mean I, and of that filthy Priapish confession which ye spew in the ear, wherewith ye exclude the forgiveness that is in Christ's blood for all that repent and believe therein; and make the people believe that their sins be never forgiven until they be shriven unto the priest, and then for no other cause save that they have there told them, and for the holy deeds to come, which the confessor hath enjoined them, more profitable oftimes for himself than any man else. Tyndale. Ear confession destroyeth the benefit of Christ's blood.

MORE. Never man had grace to spy that before Tyndale. More.

TYNDALE. Yes, very many. For many nations never received it. And the Greeks when they had proved it, and saw the bawdery that followed of it, put it down again. For which cause and to know all secrets, and to lead the consciences captive, the pope falsely maintaineth it. Tyndale.

MORE. What fruit would then come of penance? More.

TYNDALE. Of your juggling term penance I cannot affirm. But of repentance would come this fruit, that no man that had it should sin willingly, but every man should continually fight against his flesh. Tyndale. Repentance.

MORE. He teacheth that the sacrament hath no virtue at all, but by faith only. More.

TYNDALE. The faith of a repenting soul in Christ's blood doth justify only. And the sacrament standeth in as good stead as a lively preacher. And as the preacher justifieth me not, but my faith in the doctrine: even so Tyndale. Sacrament.

the sign justifieth not, but the faith in the promise which the sacrament signifieth and preacheth. And to preach is all the virtue of the sacrament. And where the sacraments preach not, there they have no virtue at all. And, sir, we teach not as ye do, to believe in the sacrament or in holy church, but to believe the sacrament and holy church.

More. Faith. MORE. He teacheth that faith sufficeth unto salvation without good works.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. The Scripture saith, that as soon as a man repenteth of evil, and believeth in Christ's blood, he obtaineth mercy immediately; because he should love God, and of that love do good works, and that he tarrieth not in sin still till he have done good works, and then is first forgiven for his works' sake, as the pope beareth his in hand, excluding the virtue of Christ's blood. For a man must be first reconciled unto God by Christ and in God's favour, ere his works can be good and pleasant in the sight of God. But we say not as some damnably lie on us, that we should do evil to be justified by faith, as thou mayest see Rom. iii. how they said of the apostles for like preaching.

The papists are slanderers of the gospel.

More. Works. MORE. He calleth it sacrilege to please God with good works.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. To refer the work unto the person of God to buy out thy sin therewith, is to make an idol of God or a creature. But if thou refer thy work unto thy neighbour's profit or taming of thine own flesh, then thou pleasest God therewith.

More. MORE. Item that a man can do no good work.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. It is false. But he saith a man can do no good work till he believe that his sins be forgiven him in Christ, and till he love God's law, and have obtained grace to work with. And then, saith he, that we cannot do our works so perfectly, by the reason of our corrupt flesh, but that there is some imperfectness therein, as in the works of them that be not their crafts-master. Which is

We can do no good work except we believe that our sins are forgiven in Christ.

yet not reckoned, because they do their good wills, and be scholars and go to school to learn to do better.

MORE. Item, that the good and righteous man sinneth alway in doing well. More. Sin.

TYNDALE. In all his works there lacketh somewhat, and is a fault, until he do them with as great love unto his neighbour as Christ did for him, and as long as there is more resistance in his flesh than was in Christ's, or less hope in God; and then no longer. Tyndale.

MORE. Item, that no sin damneth a man save unbelief. More. Unbelief.

TYNDALE. Whatsoever a man hath done, if he repent and believe in Christ, it is forgiven him. And so it followeth, that no sin damneth save there where there is no belief. Tyndale.

MORE. Item, that we have no freewill to do aught therewith, though the grace of God be joined thereto, and that God doth all in us both good and bad, and we do but suffer as wax doth of the workman. More. Free will.

TYNDALE. First, where he affirmeth that we say, our will is not free to do good and to help to compel the members, when God hath given us grace to love his laws, is false. But we say that we have no freewill to captivate our wits and understanding for to believe the pope in whatsoever he saith without reason giving, when we find in the Scripture contrary testimony, and see in him so great falsehood and deeds so abominable, and thereto all the signs by which the Scripture teacheth us to know antichrist. Tyndale.

And we affirm that we have no freewill to prevent God and his grace, and before grace prepare ourselves thereto, neither can we consent unto God before grace be come. For until God hath prevented us, and poured the spirit of his grace into our souls, to love his laws, and hath graven them in our hearts by the outward ministration of his true preacher and inward working of his Spirit, or by inspiration only, we know not God as he is to be known, nor feel We have no freewill to prevent grace and prepare ourselves.

the goodness or any sweetness in his law. How then can we consent thereto? Saith not the text, that we can do no good while we be evil, and they which seek glory and to climb in honour above their brethren, cannot believe the truth, and that whores, thieves, murderers, extortioners, and such like, have no part in the kingdom of God and Christ, nor any feeling thereof? And who shall take those diseases from them? God only, through his mercy, for they cannot put off that complexion of themselves, until they be taught to believe, and to feel, that it is damnable, and to consent unto the contrary living.

Matt. xii.
John v.
1 Cor. vi.
The hearing of God's word causeth repentance.

And unto the second part I answer, that in respect of God we do but suffer only, and receive power to do all our deeds whether we do good or bad; as Christ answered Pilate, that he could have no power against him except it were given him from above, and no more could Judas neither. But in respect of the thing wherein or wherewith we work and shed out again the power that we have received, we work actually. As the axe doth nothing in respect of the hand that heweth, save receive; but in respect of the tree that is cut, it worketh actually, and poureth out again the power that it hath received.

John xix.
There can be no repentance but God doth first work in us by his grace.

MORE. Item, that God is author of good and evil, as well of the evil will of Judas in betraying Christ, as of the good will of Christ in suffering his passion.

More.

TYNDALE. The power wherewith we do good and evil is of God, and the will is of God. As the power which the murderer abuseth, and wherewith he killeth a man unrighteously, is of God, and the will wherewith he willeth it. But the wickedness of his will, and crookedness or frowardness wherewith he slayeth unrighteously, to avenge himself, and to satisfy his own lusts, and the cause why he knoweth not the law of God and consenteth not to it, which law should have informed his will, and corrected the crookedness thereof, and have taught him to use his will and his power right, is his blindness' fault only, and not God's. Which blindness the devil hath poisoned him with.

Tyndale.
All power that we have to good or evil is of God; but the crooked and naughty usage of the same is of our own cankered and corrupt nature.

MORE. Item, matrimony is no sacrament. More.

TYNDALE. Matrimony is a similitude of the kingdom of heaven, as are many things more: like as it appeareth by Christ in the gospel. But who instituted it to be a sacrament? Or who at his marriage was taught the signification of it? Who was ever bound to receive it in the name of a sacrament? I would to Christ's blood that ye would make a sacrament of it unto all men and women that be married, and unto all other; and would at every marriage teach the people to know the benefit of Christ through the similitude of matrimony. And I affirm, that in the pope's church there is no sacrament. For where no signification is, there is no sacrament. A sign is no sign unto him that understandeth nought thereby; as a speech is no speech unto him that understandeth it not. I would to Christ's passion, that ye would let them be sacraments which Christ instituted and ordained for sacraments. And then if ye make of your own brains five hundred thereto, I would not be so greatly grieved, though I would not give my consent unto so great a multitude, partly for the bondage; and specially, lest we should in time to come, the significations of them lost, fall into idolatry again, and make holy works of them, after the example of the blindness wherein we be now; but I would have the word ever lively preached out of the plain text.

Matrimony. Tyndale. Matrimony can be no sacrament except a doctrine be added thereunto that the people may know the benefit of Christ that we have by matrimony.

MORE. Item, that all holy orders be but men's invention. More. Orders.

TYNDALE. The office of an apostle, bishop, priest, deacon, and widow, are of God; but as concerning the shaving, the oiling, and diversity of raiment, and many degrees since added thereto, prove that they be but men's traditions. But and ye will make sacraments of the oiling, shaving, shearing, and garments; put their significations unto them, and let the king's grace compel them to keep them, and I admit them for sacraments, and until that time I hold them for the false signs of hypocrites.

Tyndale. No sacrament is without signification.

MORE. Item, that every man and woman is a priest, and may consecrate the body of Christ. More. Consecrate.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. In bodily service if the officer appointed be away, every other person not only may, but also is bound to help at need, even so much as his neighbour's dog. How much more then ought men to assist one another in the health of their souls, at all times of need! If the man be away, the woman may, and is bound to baptize in time of need by the law of love, which office pertaineth unto the priest only. If she be lady over the greatest ordained by God, that she may baptize, why should she not have power also over the less, to minister the ceremonies which the pope hath added to, as his oil, his salt, his spittle, his candle and chrisom-cloth? And why might she not pray all the prayers, except that idol the pope be greater than the very God? if women had brought a child to church, and while the priest and other men tarried the child were in jeopardy, might they not baptize him in the font, if there were no other water by? And if other water were by, yet if that holp better one mite, love requireth to baptize him therein. And then why might not women touch all their other oil? If a woman learned in Christ were driven unto an isle where Christ was never preached, might she not there preach and teach to minister the sacraments, and make officers? The case is possible, shew then what should let that she might not? Love thy neighbour as thyself doth compel. Nay, she may not consecrate. Why? If the pope loved us as well as Christ, he would find no fault therewith, though a woman at need ministered that sacrament, if it be so necessary as ye make it. In bodily wealth, he that would have me one ace less than himself, loveth me not as well as himself; how much more ought we to love one another in things pertaining unto the soul?

Women that are virtuous and discreet may in cases of necessity minister the sacraments as well as the priest.

More. MORE. Item, that the host is no sacrifice.

Sacrifice. Tyndale. TYNDALE. Christ is no more killed. It is therefore the sacrament, sign, and memorial of that sacrifice wherewith Christ offered his body for our sins, and commanded saying, This do in the remembrance of me. We

be not holp with any visible deed that the priest there doth, save in that it putteth us in remembrance of Christ's death and passion for our sins. As the garments and strange holy gestures, help us not, but in that they put us in remembrance of things that Christ suffered for us in his passion. Even so the shewing, breaking, and eating of the host, the shewing and drinking of the cup of Christ's blood, and the words, and the consecration, help us not a pin, nor are God's service; save only in that they stir up our repenting faith to call to mind the death and passion of Christ for our sins. And therefore to call it a sacrifice is but abused speech, as when we call one that is new come home, to breakfast, and set a capon before him, and say, This is your welcome home, meaning yet by that speech that it is but a sign of the love of mine heart, which rejoiceth and is glad that he is come home safe and sound. And even so is this but the memorial of the very sacrifice of Christ once done for all. And if ye would no otherwise mean, ye shall have my good will to call it so still, or if ye can shew me a reason of some other meaning. And therefore I would that it had been called (as it indeed is, and as it was commanded to be) Christ's memorial, though that I doubt not but that it was called mass of his Hebrew word Misach, which signifieth a pension giving, because that at every mass, men gave every man a portion according unto his power, unto the sustentation of the poor. Which offering yet remaineth. But to a false use and profit of them that have too much, as all other things are perverted.

An example.

The supper of the Lord is given us to be a memorial of his death once offered for all.

Christ's memorial mass.

Finally, it is the same thing that it was when Christ instituted it at his last supper. If it were then the very sacrificing of Christ's body, and had that same virtue and power with it that his very passion after wrought, why was he sacrificed so cruelly on the morrow, and not held excused therewith, seeing he was there verily sacrificed?

MORE. Item, that there remaineth bread and wine in the sacrament.

More. Bread.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. Improve it, what is that that is broken, and that the priest eateth with his teeth, air only? If a child were fed with no other food he should wax haply as long as his father: whereof then should his body, his flesh and bones grow? whereof should that come, (with reverence I speak it) that he pisseth, and so forth? all by miracle will they say. O what wonderful miracles must we feign to save antichrist's doctrine! I might with as good reason say that the host is neither round nor white, but that as my mouth is deceived in the taste of bread, even so mine eyes are in the sight of roundness, and so is there nothing at all. Which all are but the disputations of men with corrupt minds, without spirit to judge. Neverthelater, when the priest hath once rehearsed the Testament of our Saviour thereon, I look not on bread and wine, but on the body of Christ broken, and blood shed for my sins, and by that faith am I saved from the damnation of my sins. Neither come I to mass for any other purpose than to fetch forgiveness for Christ's death's sake, nor for any other purpose say I *Confiteor*, and knowledge my sins at the beginning of mass. And if ye have other doctrine, teach us a reason and lead us in light, and we will follow. Christ saith (John vi.) It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing at all, the words which I speak, saith he, are spirit and life. That is, the fleshly eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood profit not; as his carnal presence profited not, by the reason of his presence only, as ye see by Judas and the pharisees, and the soldiers that touched him, and how his bodily presence did let the disciples to understand spiritually. But to eat and drink in the Spirit, that is, to hearken unto his words, and with a repenting heart to believe in his death, bringeth us all that Christ can do for us.

The corrupt and vain disputations of men to prove Christ to be really in the Sacrament.

John vi.

More. Mass. MORE. Item, that the mass availeth no man but the priest.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. If he speak of the prayers, his prayers help us as much as ours him. If he speak of the sacra-

ment, it helpeth as many as be present as much as him, if moved thereby they believe in Christ's death as well as he. If they be absent, the sacrament profiteth them as much as a sermon made in the church helpeth them that be in the fields. And how profiteth it the souls of the dead, tell me, unto whom it is no sign?

The Sacrament of Christ's body when it is faithfully ministered, doth profit as many as do believe in Christ's death.

If ye mean the carnal eating and drinking, then it profiteth the priest only, for he eateth and drinketh up all alone, and giveth no man part with him.

MORE. Item, that a man should not be houselled till he lay a dying. More.

TYNDALE. That is too shameless a lie. Tyndale.

MORE. Item, that men and women should not spare to touch it. More. Touch.

TYNDALE. A perilous case, why? Because the pope has not oiled them. Nevertheless, Christ hath anointed them with his Spirit and with his blood. But wot ye why? The pope thinketh if they should be too busy in handling it, they would believe that there were bread, and for that cause, to strength their faiths, he hath imagined little pretty thin manchets that shine through, and seem more like to be made of paper or fine parchment, than of wheat flour. About which was no final question in Oxford of late days, whether it were bread or none: some affirming that the flour with long lying in water was turned to starch, and had lost its nature. Tyndale.

MORE. Item, that the sacrament should not be worshipped. More. Worship.

TYNDALE. It is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. And Christ calleth it the new and everlasting testament in his blood, and commanded that we should so do in the remembrance of him, that his body was broken and his blood shed for our sins. And Paul commandeth thereby to shew, or preach the Lord's death. They say not, pray to it, neither put any faith therein. For I may not believe in the sacrament, but I must believe the sacrament, that it is a true sign, and it true that is signified Tyndale.

The true worshipping of the sacrament, is to believe that it is a true sign that Christ suffered death for us.

thereby (which is the only worshipping of the sacrament, if ye give it other worship, ye plainly dishonour it.) As I may not believe in Christ's church, but believe Christ's church, that the doctrine which they preach of Christ is true. If ye have any other doctrine, teach us a reason and lead us in light, and we will follow.

More. MORE. Item, that a Christian is not bound to keep any law made by man, or any at all.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. You say untruly: a Christian man is bound to obey tyranny: if it be not against his faith nor the law of God, until God deliver him thereof. But he is no Christian man that bindeth him to any thing, save that which love and his neighbour's necessity requireth of them.

And when a law made is no longer profitable, Christian rulers ought to break it. But now-a-days, when tyrants have gotten the simple people under, they compel them to serve their lusts and wily tyranny, without respect of any commonwealth; which wily tyranny, because the truth rebuketh it, is the cause why they persecute it, lest the common people, seeing how good they should be, and feeling how wicked they are, should withdraw their necks from their unrighteous yoke. As ye have ensample in Herod, in the scribes and pharisees, and in many other.

More. Purgatory. Tyndale. MORE. Item, that there is no purgatory.

TYNDALE. Believe in Christ, and thou shalt shortly find purgatory enough, as ye now make other feel.

More. Souls sleep. Tyndale. MORE. Item, that all souls lie and sleep till dooms-day.

TYNDALE. And ye in putting them in heaven, hell, and purgatory, destroy the arguments wherewith Christ and Paul prove the resurrection. What God doth with them, that shall we know when we come to them. The true faith putteth the resurrection which we be warned to look for every hour. The heathen philosophers denying that, did put that the souls did ever live. And the pope joineth the spiritual doctrine of Christ, and the fleshly doctrine of philosophers together, things so contrary that they cannot agree, no more than the Spirit and the flesh

The souls departed rest at God's will and pleasure.

do in a Christian man. And because the fleshly minded pope consenteth unto heathen doctrine, therefore he corrupteth the Scripture to stablish it. Moses saith in Deut. the secret things pertain unto the Lord, and the things that he opened pertain unto us, that we do all that is written in the book. Wherefore, sir, if we loved the laws of God, and would occupy ourselves to fulfil them, and would on the other side, be meek, and let God alone with his secrets, and suffer him to be wiser than we, we should make none article of the faith of this or that. And again, if the souls be in heaven, tell me why they be not in as good case as the angels be? And then what cause is there of the resurrection?

Deut. xxix.

MORE. Item, no man shall pray to saints.

More. Saints.

TYNDALE. When ye speak with saints that be departed, it is not evil to put them in remembrance to pray for you.

Tyndale.

MORE. Why do they not hear us?

More.

TYNDALE. If they love you so fervently, and be so great with God, why certify they you not, that they so do?

Tyndale.

MORE. So they do in that we feel our petitions granted.

More.

TYNDALE. God saved the old idolaters with worldly salvation, and gave them their petitions, which they yet asked of their idols, as ye see throughout all the Old Testament. God heareth the crows, fowls, beasts, and worms of the earth, as the text saith, men and beasts doth God save, which beasts yet pray not to God.

Tyndale.

The Jews and Turks doth God save in this world, and giveth them their worldly petitions, which yet worship not God, as his godly nature is to be worshipped, but after their own imagination; not in the Spirit, with faith, hope, and love, but with bodily service, as the pope doth. As the popish serve St. Appoline for the tooth ache, and are healed: even so the Jews and Turks be healed, and pray not to her, but serve God after another manner for the same disease. So that God doth save in this world all that keep the worldly laws worldly, that is to wit, outward in the body, for bodily reward, and not in the heart of

Saints are not to be called upon for we have no promise nor assurance that either they hear us or can profit us.

love that springeth out of the mercy that God hath given us in Christ; which same, though they be Turks, if they break the worldly laws, he rebuketh them, as the Ninevites, and punisheth them diversly. And if they knowledge their sin and mend, he healeth them again. But, and if they harden and sin as beasts, and will not amend, he destroyeth them utterly as the Sodomites. And yet all such have no part in the life to come.

The children of God are obedient to his laws.

But with his children in whose hearts he writeth the faith of his Son Jesus and the love of his laws, he goeth otherwise to work his laws in their will: and their petitions are his honour and their neighbour's wealth: and that he will provide them of all things necessary unto this life, and govern them that their hearts be not overcome of evil. And he heareth them unto his honour and their everlasting salvation, and purgeth them and teacheth them things whereof the popish and all they whose hearts the god of this world hath blinded, to serve God with works, hath no feeling.

Images.

And when he saith, that the emperor and that council which decreed that images for the abuse should be put out of the church, were heretics. It is much easier so to say, than so to prove. Understand therefore, that images were not yet received in the church in the time of St. Jerom, at the leastway generally, whether in some one place or no, I cannot tell. For St. Jerom rehearseth of one Epiphanius a bishop in the country of Cyprus, and that the most perfect of all the bishops of his time, how that the said Epiphanius and the bishop of Jerusalem went together to Bethel, and by the way they entered into a church for to pray, and there found a veil hanging before the door, and an image painted thereon, as it had been of Christ or some saint. For the bishop was so moved therewith, because saith St. Jerom, that it was contrary to the Scripture, that he cut [it,] and counselled to bury some dead therein, and sent another cloth to hang in the stead. And afterward when they were crept in a little and little,

Jerom.

Images were not allowed in the primitive church.

Epiphanius cut the Image.

there was no worshipping of them, at the leastway generally until the time of St. Gregory.

Insomuch that when Cirenus the bishop of Massilia, offended with the superstitiousness of the people, burnt them, St. Gregory wrote that he should not destroy the images, but teach only that the people should not worship them. But when it it was so far come that the people worshipped them with a false faith (as we now know no other use) and were no longer memorials only, then the bishops of Greece and the emperors gathered them together, to provide a remedy against that mischief; and concluded that they should be put down for the abuse, thinking it so expedient; having for them, first, the example of God, whom a man may boldly follow, which commanded in the beginning of all his precepts, that there should be no image used to worship or pray before, not for the image itself, but for the weakness of his people: and having again before their eyes, that the people were fallen unto idolatry and image-serving by the reason of them.

Gregory Cirenus.

A council gathered in Greece did put down all images.

Now answer me, by what reason canst thou make an heretic of him, that concludeth nought against God, but worketh with God and putteth that block out of the way, whereat his brother, the price of Christ's blood, stumbleth and looseth his soul? They put not down the images for hate of God and of his saints, no more than Hezekiah brake the brazen serpent for envy of the great miracle that was wrought by it, or in spite of God that commanded it to be kept for a memorial. But to keep the people in the true faith only. Now, seeing we may be all without images, and to put them down is not against God's commandment, but with it; namely, if they be abused, to the dishonour of God and hurt of our neighbours; where is charity, if thou which knowest the truth and canst use thine image well, wilt not yet forbear thine image and suffer it to be put out of the way, for thy weak brother's sake whom thou seest perish therethrough?

Hezekiah.

Images are not to be had in churches.

Yea, and what thing maketh both the Turk and the Jew abhor our faith so much as our image-service? But the pope was then glad to find an occasion to pick a quarrel with the emperor, to get the empire into his own hands, which thing be brought to pass with the sword of France, and climbed so high that ever since he hath put his own authority instead of God's word in every general council, and hath concluded what him list, as against all God's word, and against all charity, he condemned that blessed deed of that council and emperor.

More. Our lady. Tyndale.

MORE. They blaspheme our lady and all saints.

TYNDALE. That is untrue. We honour our blessed lady and all holy saints, and follow their faith and living unto the uttermost of our power, and submit ourselves to be scholars of the same school.

More. Salve Regina. Tyndale.

MORE. They may not abide *Salve regina*.

TYNDALE. For therein is much blasphemy unto our blessed lady, because Christ is our hope and life only, and not she. And ye, in ascribing unto her that she is not, dishonour God and worship her not.

More.

MORE. They say if a woman being alive believe in God and love him as much as our lady, she may help with her prayers as much as our lady.

Tyndale.

TYNDALE. Tell, why not? Christ when it was told him that his mother and brethren sought him, answered, that his mother, his sisters, and his brethren, were all they that did his Father's will. And unto the woman that said to Christ, Blessed be the womb that bear thee, and paps that gave thee suck, Christ answered, Nay, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it. As Paul saith, (1 Cor. ix.) I have nought to rejoice though I preach, for necessity lieth upon me, and woe is me if I preach not. If I do it unwillingly, an office is committed unto me, but, and if I do it with a good will, then I have a reward. So now carnal bearing of Christ, and carnal giving him suck, make not our lady great. But our blessed lady's greatness is her faith and love wherein she

Matt. xii.

Luke ii.

The prayers of all good women are as well accepted of God as the prayers of our lady.

exceeded other. Wherefore if God gave his mercy that another woman were in those two points equal with her, why were she not like great, and her prayers as much heard?

MORE. Item that men should not worship the holy cross. More. Cross.

TYNDALE. With no false worship and superstitious faith, but as I have said, to have it in reverence for the memorial of Him that died thereon. Tyndale.

MORE. Item, Luther hateth the feasts of the cross, and of Corpus Christi. More.

TYNDALE. Not for envy of the cross, which sinned not in the death of Christ, nor of malice toward the blessed body of Christ, but for the idolatry used in those feasts. Tyndale.

MORE. Item, that no man or woman is bound to keep any vow. More. Vow.

TYNDALE. Lawful vows are to be kept until necessity break them. But unlawful vows are to be broken immediately. Tyndale.

MORE. Martin appealed unto the next general council that should be gathered in the Holy Ghost, to seek a long delay. More. Martin.

TYNDALE. Of a truth that were a long delay. For should Martin live till the pope gather a council in the Holy Ghost, or for any godly purpose, he were like to be for every hair of his head a thousand years old. Tyndale. Martin.

Then bringeth he in the inconstancy of Martin, because he saith in his latter book, how that he seeth farther than in his first. Peradventure, he is kin to our doctors which when with preaching against pluralities they have got them three or four benefices, allege the same excuse. But yet, to say the truth, the very apostles of Christ learned not all truth in one day. For long after the Ascension they wist not that the heathen should be received unto the faith. How then could Martin (brought up in the blindness of your sect above forty years) spy out all your falsehood in one day? All falsehood is not espied out in one day.

More. MORE. Martin offered at Worms before the emperor and all the lords of Germany, to abide by his book and to dispute, which he might well do, sithens he had his safe conduct that he should have no bodily harm.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. O merciful God, how foam ye out your own shame! ye cannot dispute except ye have a man in your own danger to do him bodily harm, to diet him after your fashion, to torment him and to murder him. If ye might have had him at your pleasure, ye would have disputed with him: first, with sophistry and corrupting the Scripture: then with offering him promotions: then with the sword. So that ye would have been sure, to have overcome him with one argument or other.

More. MORE. He would agree on no judges.

Martin. Tyndale. TYNDALE. What judges offered ye him, save blind bishops and cardinals, enemies of all truth, whose promotions and dignities they fear to be plucked from them, if the truth came to light, or such Judases as they had corrupt with money to maintain their sect? The apostles might have admitted as well the heathen bishops of idols to have been their judges, as he them. But he offered you authentic Scripture and the hearts of the whole world. Which two judges, if ye had good consciences and trust in God, ye would not have refused.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

THE fourth chapter is not the first poetry that he hath feigned.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

IN the end of the fifth he untruly reporteth, that Martin saith, no man is bound to keep any vow. Lawful promises are to be kept, and unlawful to be broken.

THE SIXTH CHAPTER.

IN the beginning of the sixth he describeth Martin after the example of his own nature, as in other places he describeth God after the complexion of popes, cardinals, and worldly tyrants.

MORE. Martin will abide but by the Scripture only. More. Martin.

TYNDALE. And ye will come at no Scripture only. And as for the old doctors ye will hear as little, save where it pleaseth you, for all your crying, Old holy fathers. For tell me this, why have ye in England condemned the union of doctors, but because ye would not have your falsehood disclosed by the doctrine of them? Tyndale. Union.

MORE. They say, that a Christian man is discharged of all laws spiritual and temporal, save the gospel. More.

TYNDALE. Ye juggle: we say that no Christian man ought to bind his brother violently, unto any law whereof he could not give a reason out of Christ's doctrine, and out of the law of love. And on the other side we say, that a Christian man is called to suffer wrong and tyranny (though no man ought to bind him) until God rid us thereof; so far yet as the tyranny is not directly against the law of God and faith of Christ, and no farther. Tyndale. How far a Christian man is bound to suffer.

MORE. Martin was the cause of the destruction of the uplandish people of Germany. More.

TYNDALE. That is false, for then he could not have escaped himself. Martin was as much the cause of their confusion, as Christ of the destruction of Jerusalem. The duke elector of Saxony came from the war of those uplandish people, and other dukes with him, into Wirtemburg, where Martin is, with fifteen hundred men of arms, so that Martin if he had been guilty, could not have gone quit. And thereto all the dukes and lords that cleave unto the word of God this day, were no less cumbered with their common people than other men. Tyndale.

Then after the loudest manner he setteth out the cruel-

ness of the emperor's soldiers which they used at Rome; but he maketh no mention of the treason which holy church wrought secretly, wherewith the men of war were so set on fire.

THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.

More. MORE. WHAT good deed will he do, that believeth Martin, how that we have no freewill to do any good with the help of grace?

Tyndale. TYNDALE. O poet, without shame!

More. MORE. What harm shall he care to forbear, that believeth Luther, how God alone, without our will, worketh all the mischief that they do?

Tyndale. TYNDALE. O natural son of the father of all lies!

More. MORE. What shall he care, how long he live in sin that believeth Luther, that he shall after this life feel neither good nor evil in body nor soul until the day of doom?

Tyndale. TYNDALE. Christ and his apostles taught no other, but warned to look for Christ's coming again every hour. Which coming again, because ye believe will never be, therefore have ye feigned that other merchandise.

More. MORE. Martin's books be open, if ye will not believe us.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. Nay, ye have shut them up, and therefore be bold to say what ye lust.

More. MORE. They live as they teach, and teach as they live.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. But neither teach nor live as other lie on them.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

More. MORE. Though the Turk offer pleasures unto the receivers, and death unto the refusers of his sect (as the pope doth) yet he suffereth none to break their promises of chastity dedicated to God (though haply they use no such vows, and as the pope will not, except it

be for money) but Luther teacheth to break holy vows.

TYNDALE. Luther teacheth that unlawful vows, grounded on a false faith unto the dishonouring of God, are to be broken, and no other. And again, constrained service pleaseth not God. And thirdly, your pope giveth licence and his blessing to break all lawful vows, but with the most unlawful of all will ye not dispense.

Tyndale. Unlawful vows are not to be observed.

Then he bringeth forth the ensample of the heathen, to confirm the pope's chastity. And no wrong, for the same false imagination that the heathen had in theirs, hath the pope in his. Understand therefore, if thou vow any indifferent thing to please God in his own person, he receiveth not thine idolatry; for his pleasure and honour is that thou shouldest be as he hath made thee, and should receive all such things of his hand and use them so far forth as they were needful, and give him thanks, and be bound to him; and not that thou shouldest be as thou hadst made thyself: and that he should receive such things of thee, to be bound to thee to thank thee, and reward thee. And again, thou must give me a reason of thy vow out of the word of God. Moreover when thou vowest lawfully, thou mayest not do it precisely, but alway, except if thine own or thy neighbour's necessity required the contrary. As if thou hadst vowed never to eat flesh, or drink wine, or strong drink, to tame thy flesh, and thou afterward fellest in disease, so that thy body in that behalf were too tame, or that there could no other sustenance be gotten; that thou must interpret such cases except, though thou madest no mention of them at the making of thy vow. Some man would say, other shift might be made: What then? If other drink as hot as wine and of the same operation, and other meat of the same power and virtue as flesh is must be had, why shouldest thou forswear wine or flesh, seeing it is now no longer for the taming of thy body? And so forth of all other, as I have above declared.

Vows.

All vows are to be made with great advisement.

We must use God's creatures for our necessity.

And when he bringeth in the apostles, martyrs, confes-

sors, and fifteen hundred years, it is clean contrary. For they had no such false imagination of chastity, or of any other work; but they used it to serve their neighbour, and to avoid trouble in time of persecution; and to be eased of that burden that was too heavy for their weak shoulders, and not to compel God to thank them for that liberty for which they be bound to thank him.

All our abstinence and chastising of ourselves is to our own profit.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

Freewill.

IN the tenth he inveigheth and raileth against that which neither he, nor any fleshly minded papist can understand; as they have no power to consent unto the laws of God, which herein appeareth, that they compel their brethren which be as good as they, to do and believe what they lust, and not what God commandeth. He affirmeth that Martin saith, how that we do no sin ourselves with our own will, but that God sinneth in us, and uses us as a dead instrument, and forceth us thereunto, and damneth us, not for our own deeds, but for his, and for his own pleasure, as he compelleth unto sin for his pleasure, or rather he for his pleasure sinneth in us. I say, that a man sinneth voluntarily, but the power of the will and of the deed is of God, and every will and deed are good in the nature of the deed, and the evilness is a lack that there is, as the eye though it be blind is good in nature, in that it is such a member, created for such a good use; but it is called evil for lack of sight. And so are our deeds evil because we lack knowledge and love to refer them unto the glory of God. Which lack cometh of the devil that blindeth us with lusts, and occasions that we cannot see the goodness and righteousness of the law of God, and the means how to fulfil it. For could we see it, and the way to do it, we should love it naturally as a child doth a fair apple. For as a child, when a man sheweth him a fair apple, and will not give it him, weepeth; so should we naturally mourn when the members would not come

More blasphemeth God.

Our deeds are evil because we lack knowledge to refer them unto the glory of God.

forward to fulfil the law according to the desire of our hearts. For Paul saith, (2 Cor. iv.) If our gospel be hid, it is hid unto them that perish, among which the God of this world hath blinded the wits of the unbelievers, that the light of the glorious gospel of Christ should not shine to them. And Christ saith that the birds eat up the seed sown upon the way, and interpreteth by the seed, the word, and by the fowls, the devil. So that the devil blindeth us with falsehood and lies, which is our worldly wisdom, and therewith stoppeth out the true light of God's wisdom, which blindness is the evilness of all our deeds.

2 Cor iv.

The devil is the blinder and keeper of us from the understanding of God's will.

And on the other side, that another man loveth the laws of God, and useth the power that he hath of God well, and referreth his will and his deeds unto the honour of God, cometh of the mercy of God which hath opened his wits, and shewed him light to see the goodness and righteousness of the law of God, and the way that is in Christ to fulfil it, whereby he loveth it naturally and trusteth to do it. Why doth God open one man's eyes and not another's? Paul (Rom. x.) forbiddeth to ask why. For it is too deep for man's capacity. God we see is honoured thereby, and his mercy set out, and the more seen in the vessels of mercy. But the popish can suffer God to have no secret hid to himself. They have searched to come to the bottom of his bottomless wisdom, and because they cannot attain to that secret, and be too proud to let it alone, and to grant themselves ignorant, with the apostle, that knew no other than God's glory in the elect, they go and set up free-will with the heathen philosophers, and say, that a man's free-will is the cause why God chooseth one and not another, contrary unto all the Scripture. Paul saith it cometh not of the will, nor of the deed, but of the mercy of God. And they say that every man hath at the least way power in his free-will, to deserve that power should be given him of God to keep the law. But the Scripture testifieth that Christ hath deserved for

We may not be curious to search God's secrets.

A papistical opinion.

the elect, even then when they hated God, that their eyes should be opened, to see the goodness of the law of God, and the way to fulfil it, and forgiveness of all that is passed, whereby they be drawn to love it and to hate sin.

Wit, reason and judgment goeth before will.

I ask the popish one question, whether the will can prevent a man's wit, and make the wit see the righteousness of the law, and the way to fulfil it in Christ? If I must first see the reason whether I can love, how shall I with my will do that good thing that I know not of? How shall I thank God for the mercy that is laid up for me in Christ, ere I believe it? For I must believe the mercy, ere I can love the work. Now faith cometh not of our free-will, but is the grace of God given us by grace, ere there be any will in our hearts to do the law of God. And why God giveth it not every man, I can give no reckoning of his judgments. But well I wot, I never deserved it, nor prepared myself unto it, but ran another way clean contrary in my blindness, and sought not that way, but he sought me, and found me out, and shewed it me, and therewith drew me to him. And I bow the knees of my heart unto God night and day, that he will shew it all other men. And I suffer all that I can to be a servant to open their eyes.

Faith is the gift of God, and cometh not by free-will.

For well I wot they cannot see of themselves before God hath prevented them with his grace. For Paul saith (Phil. i.) He that began a good work in you shall continue, or bring it unto a full end; so that God must begin to work in us. And (Phil. ii.) God it is that worketh both the willing, and also bringing to pass. And it must needs be, for God must open mine eyes, and shew me somewhat and make me see the goodness of it, to draw me to him, ere I can love, consent, or have any actual will to come.

Phil. i.

Phil. ii.

God is the first worker and bringer to pass of our well doings.

And when I am willing, he must assist me, and help to tame my flesh, and to overcome the occasions of the world, and the power of the fiends. God therefore hath a special care for his elect, insomuch that he will shorten the wicked

Matt. xxiv.

days for their sakes, in which no man, if they should continue, might endure. And Paul suffereth all for the elect (2 Timothy ii.) And God's sure foundation standeth, saith Paul, God knoweth his. So that refuse the truth who shall, God will keep a number of his mercy, and call them out of blindness, to testify the truth unto the rest, that their damnation may be without excuse.

The Turk, the Jew, and the popish build upon free-will, and ascribe their justifying unto their works. The Turk, when he hath sinned, runneth to the purifyings, or ceremonies of Mahomet; and the Jew to the ceremonies of Moses; and the pope unto his own ceremonies, to fetch forgiveness of their sins. And the Christian goeth through repentance toward the law, unto the faith that is in Christ's blood.

The Christians seek help of Christ!

And the pope saith that the ceremonies of Moses justified not, compelled with the words of Paul. And how then should his justify? Moses' sacraments were but signs of promises of faith, by which faith the believers are justified, and even so be Christ's also. And now because the Jews have put out the significations of their sacraments, and put their trust in the works of them, therefore they be idolaters and so is the pope for like purpose. The pope saith that Christ died not for us, but for the sacraments, to give them power to justify. O antichrist!

O abominable blasphemy!

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

HIS eleventh chapter is as true as his story of Utopia, and all his other poetry. He meaneth Doctor Ferman, parson, of Honey Lane. Whom after they had handled after their secret manner, and disputed with secretly, and had made him swear that he should not utter how he was dealt with, as they have made many other, then they contrived a manner of disputations had with him, with such oppositions, answerings, and arguments, as should serve only to set forth their purpose. As M. More

Doctor Ferman.

Master Dr. Ferman was a virtuous, godly, and learned man.

throughout all his book maketh, quoth he, to dispute and move questions after such a manner as he can foil them, or make them appear foiled, and maketh him grant where he listeth, and at the last to be concluded and led whither M. More will have him. Wherefore I will not rehearse all the arguments, for it were too long, and is also not to be believed, that he so made them, or so disputed with them, but that they added and pulled away, and feigned as they list, as their guise is. But I will declare in light, that which M. More ruffleth up in darkness, that ye may see their falsehood.

A true note to know hypocrites.

First, if ye were not false hypocrites, why had ye not disputed openly with him, that the world might have heard and borne record, that that which ye now say of him were true? What cause is there that the lay people might not as well have heard his words of his own mouth, as read them of your writing, except ye were juggling spirits that walk in darkness?

When M. More saith, the church teacheth that men should not trust in their works, it is false, if he mean the pope's church. For they teach a man to trust in dumb ceremonies, and sacraments, in penance, and all manner [of] works that come them to profit, which yet help not unto repentance, nor to faith, nor to love a man's neighbour.

M. More declareth the meaning of no sentence, he describeth the proper signification of no word, nor the difference of the significations of any term, but runneth forth confusedly in unknown words and general terms. And where one word hath many significations, he maketh a man some time believe that many things are but one thing, and some time he leadeth from one signification unto another, and mocketh a man's wits. As he juggleth with his term church, making us in the beginning understand all that believe, and in the conclusion the priests only. He telleth not the office of the law, he describeth not his penance, nor the virtue thereof, nor use; he de-

M. More is a juggler with terms.

clareth no sacrament, nor what they mean, nor the use; nor wherein the fruit of confession standeth; nor whence the power of the absolution cometh, nor wherein it resteth; nor what justifying meaneth, nor the order; nor sheweth any diversity of faiths, as though all faiths were one faith and one thing.

The order of justifying.

Mark therefore, the way toward justifying, or forgiveness of sin, is the law. God causeth the law to be preached unto us and writeth it in our hearts, and maketh us by good reasons feel that the law is good, and ought to be kept, and that they which keep it not are worthy to be damned. And on the other side, I feel that there is no power in me to keep the law, whereupon it would shortly follow that I should despair, if I were not shortly holp.

A lively description of our justification.

But God, which hath begun to cure me, and hath laid that corosy unto my sores, goeth forth in his cure, and setteth his son Jesus before me, and all his passion and death, and saith to me: This is my dear Son, and he hath prayed for thee, and hath suffered all this for thee, and for his sake I will forgive thee all that thou hast done against this good law, and I will heal thy flesh, and teach thee to keep this law, if thou learn. And I will bear with thee, and take all a worth that thou doest, till thou canst do better. And in the mean season, notwithstanding thy weakness, I will yet love thee no less than I do the angels in heaven, so thou wilt be diligent to learn. And I will assist thee, and keep thee, and defend thee, and be thy shield, and care for thee.

The great mercy and kindness of God moveth man to repentance.

And the heart here beginneth to mollify and wax soft, and to receive health, and believeth the mercy of God, and, in believing, is saved from the fear of everlasting death, and made sure of everlasting life; and then being overcome with this kindness, beginneth to love again and to submit herself unto the law of God, to learn them and to walk in them.

Note now the order, first God giveth me light to see the goodness and righteousness of the law, and mine own

The right order of our justification.

sin and unrighteousness. Out of which knowledge springeth repentance. Now repentance teacheth me not that the law is good, and I evil, but a light that the Spirit of God hath given me, out of which light repentance springeth.

Then the same Spirit worketh in mine heart trust and confidence to believe the mercy of God and his truth, that he will do as he hath promised, which belief saveth me. And immediately out of that trust springeth love toward the law of God again. And whatsoever a man worketh of any other love than this, it pleaseth not God, nor is that love godly.

Now love doth not receive this mercy, but faith only, out of which faith love springeth, by which love I pour out again upon my neighbour that goodness which I have received of God by faith. Hereof ye see that I cannot be justified without repentance, and yet repentance jutifieth me not. And hereof ye see that I cannot have a faith to be justified and saved; except love spring thereof immediately, and yet love justifieth me not before God. For my natural love to God again doth not make me first see, and feel the kindness of God in Christ, but faith through preaching. For we love not God first, to compel him to love again: but he loved us first, and gave his son for us, that we might see love and love again, saith S. John in his first Epistle: which love of God to usward we receive by Christ through faith, saith Paul.

1 John iv.

Faith only apprehendeth our justification.

And this example have I set out for them in divers places, but their blind popish eyes have no power to see it, covetousness hath so blinded them. And when we say, faith only justifieth us; that is to say, receiveth the mercy wherewith God justifieth us and forgiveth us; we mean not faith which hath no repentance, and faith which hath no love unto the laws of God again, and unto good works, as wicked hypocrites falsely belie us.

For how then should we suffer, as we do, all misery, to call the blind and ignorant unto repentance, and good

works, which now do but consent unto all evil, and study mischief all day long, for all their preaching their justifiing of good works? Let M. More improve this with his sophistry, and set forth his own doctrine, that we may see the reason of it and walk in light.

What faith justifieth.

Hereof ye see what faith it is that justifieth us. The faith in Christ's blood of a repenting heart toward the law doth justify us only, and not all manner [of] faiths. Ye must understand therefore, that ye may see to come out of More's blind maze, how that there be many faiths, and that all faiths be not one faith, though they be all called with one general name. There is a story faith, without feeling in the heart, wherewith I may believe the whole story of the Bible, and yet not set mine heart earnestly thereto, taking it for the food of my soul, to learn to believe and trust God, to love him, dread him and fear him by the doctrine and ensamples thereof; but to seem learned, and to know the story, to dispute and make merchandize, after as we have examples enough. And the faith wherewith a man doth miracles is another gift than the faith of a repenting heart, to be saved through Christ's blood, and the one no kin to the other, though M. More would have them so appear. Neither is the devils' faith, and the pope's faith, (wherewith they believe that there is a God, and that Christ is, and all the story of the Bible, and may yet stand with all wickedness and full consent to evil,) kin unto the faith of them that hate evil, and repent of their misdeeds, and knowledge their sins, and be fled with full hope and trust of mercy unto the blood of Christ.

There are diversities of faith, and but one faith that justifieth us.

Works.

And when he saith, if faith certify our hearts that we be in the favour of God, and our sins forgiven, and become good, ere we do good works; as the tree must be first good, ere it bring forth good fruit, by Christ's doctrine; then we make good works but a shadow wherewith a man is never the better. Nay, Sir, we make good works fruits, whereby our neighbour is the better, and

Out of a lively and justifying faith springeth good works.

whereby God is honoured, and our flesh tamed. And we make of them sure tokens whereby we know that our faith is no feigned imagination and dead opinion, made with captiving our wits after the pope's traditions, but a lively thing wrought by the Holy Ghost.

Faith alone justifieth.

And when he disputeth, if they that have faith, have love unto the law, and purpose to fulfil it, then faith alone justifieth not; how will he prove that argument? He juggleth with this word alone: and would make the people believe that we said, how a bare faith that is without all other company, of repentance, love, and other virtues, yea, and without God's Spirit too, did justify us, so that we should not care to do good. But the Scripture so taketh not alone, nor we so mean, as M. More knoweth well enough. When an horse beareth a saddle and a man therein, we may well say, that the horse only, and alone, beareth the saddle, is not holp of the man in bearing thereof. But he would make men understand that we meant, the horse bare the saddle empty and no man therein: let him mark this, to see his ignorance, which, would God, were not coupled with malice. Every man that hath wit, hath a will too, and then by M. More's argument, wit only giveth not the light of understanding. Now the conclusion is false, and contrary true. For the wit without help of the will giveth the light of the understanding; neither doth the will work at all, until the wit have determined this or that to be good or bad. Now what is faith, save a spiritual light of understanding, and an inward knowledge or feeling of mercy? Out of which knowledge love doth spring. But love brought me not that knowledge, for I knew it ere I loved. So that love in the process of nature, to dispute from the cause to the effect, helpeth not at all, to the feeling that God is merciful to me no more than the loving heart, and kind behaviour of an obedient wife to her husband maketh her see his love and kindness to her, for many such have unkind husbands. But by his kind deeds to her, doth she see his love. Even so my love

A similitude.

More is maliciously blind.

An apt and proper example of love.

and deeds make me not see God's love to me in the process of nature; but his kind deeds to me, in that he gave his Son for me, maketh me see his love, and to love again.

Our love and good works make not God first love us, and change him from hate to love, as the Turk, Jew, and vain popish mean, but his love and deeds make us love, and change us from hate to love. For he loved us when we were evil, and his enemies, as testifieth Paul in divers places, and chose us, to make us good and to shew us love, and to draw us to him, that we should love again.

Rom. v. God loved us first that we should love him again.

The father loveth his child, when it hath no power to do good, and when it must be suffered to run after its own lusts without law, and never loveth it better than then, to make it better, and to shew it love, to love again. If ye could see what is written in the first Epistle of John, though all the other Scripture were laid apart, ye should see all this.

And ye must understand, that we sometime dispute forward, from the effect to the cause, and must beware that we be not therewith beguiled: we say, summer is come, and therefore all is green, and dispute forward. For summer is the cause of the greenness. We say the trees be green, and therefore summer is come, and dispute backward from the effect to the cause. For the green trees make not summer, but maketh summer known. So we dispute backwark, the man doth good deeds, and profitable unto his neighbour, he must therefore love God: he loveth God, he must therefore have a true faith and see mercy.

He that loveth God loveth his neighbour.

And yet my works make not my love, nor my love my faith, nor my faith God's mercy: but contrary, God's mercy maketh my faith, and my faith my love, and my love my works. And if the pope could see mercy and work of love to his neighbour; and not sell his works to God for heaven, after M. More's doctrine, we needed not so settle disputing of faith.

Note here the mercy and goodness of God.

Faith may be had without love but it is a barren and naked faith.

And when M. More allegeth Paul to the Corinthians, to prove that faith may be without love, he proveth nothing, but juggleth only. He saith, it is evident by the words of Paul, that a man may have a faith to do miracles without love, and may give all his good in alms without love, and his body to burn for the name of Christ, and all without charity. Well, I will not stick with him: he may so do, without charity, and without faith thereto. Then a man may have faith without faith. Yea verily because there be many differences of faith, as I have said, and not all faiths one faith, as Master More juggleth. We read in the works of S. Cyprian, that there were martyrs that suffered martyrdom for the name of Christ, all the year long, and were tormented and healed again, and then brought forth afresh. Which martyrs believed as ye do, that the pain of their martyrdom should be a deserving, and merit enough, not only to deserve heaven for themselves, but to make satisfaction for the sins of other men thereto, and gave pardons of their merits, after the ensample of the pope's doctrine, and forgave the sins of other men, which had openly denied Christ, and wrote unto Cyprian, that he should receive those men that had denied Christ, into the congregation again, at the satisfaction of their merits. For which pride, Cyprian wrote to them, and called them the devil's martyrs, and not God's. Those martyrs had a faith without faith. For had they believed that all mercy is given for Christ's blood-shedding, they would have sent other men thither, and would have suffered their own martyrdom for love of their neighbours only, to serve them, and to testify the truth of God in our Saviour Jesus, unto the world, to save at the least way some, that is to wete, the elect, for whose sake Paul suffereth all things, and not to win heaven. If I work for a worldly purpose, I get no reward in heaven: even so if I work for heaven or an higher place in heaven I get there no reward. But I must do my work for the love of my neighbour, because he is my brother, and the

Cyprian.

Martyrs that suffered all a year long.

The devil's martyrs.

We must do good works of love, and not for reward.

price of Christ's blood, and because Christ hath deserved it, and desireth it of me, and then my reward is great in heaven.

And all they which believe that their sins be forgiven them, and they received, as the Scripture testifieth, unto the inheritance of heaven for Christ's merits, the same love Christ, and their brethren for his sake; and do all things for their sakes only; not once thinking of heaven when they work, but on their brethren's need. When they suffer themselves above might, then they comfort their soul with the remembrance of heaven, that this wretchedness shall have an end, and we shall have a thousand fold pleasures and rewards in heaven, not for the merits of our deservings, but given us freely for Christ's. And he that hath that love, hath the right faith, and he that hath that faith hath the right love. For I cannot love my neighbour for Christ's sake, except I first believe that I have received such mercy of Christ. Nor can I believe that I have received such mercy of Christ, but that I must love my neighbour for his sake, seeing that he so instantly desireth me.

Our doings can deserve nothing, but Christ hath deserved for us.

And when he allegeth St. James, it is answered him in the Mammon, and St. Augustine answereth him. And St. James expoundeth himself. For he saith in the first chapter, God, which begat us with his own will with the word of truth, which word of truth is his promises of mercy and forgiveness in our Saviour Jesus, by which he begat us, gave us life, and made us a new creature through a fast faith. And James goeth and rebuketh the opinion and false faith of them that think it enough to be saved by, if they believe that there is but one God, and that Christ was born of a virgin, and a thousand things which a man may believe, and yet not believe in Christ, to be saved from sin through him. And that James speaketh of another faith than at the beginning appeareth by his ensample. The devils have faith, saith he: yea, but the devils have no faith that can repent of evil, or to believe:

James ii.

James reproveth false fruits and not a true and lively faith.

in Christ to be saved through him, or that can love God and work his will of love. Now Paul speaketh of a faith that is in Christ's blood, to be saved thereby, which worketh immediately through love of the benefit received. And James at the beginning speaketh of a faith that bideth trying, saying, The trying of your faith worketh, or causeth, patience; but the faith of the devils will bide no trying, for they will not work God's will because they love him not. And in like manner is it of the faith of them that repent not, or that think themselves without sin. For except a man feel out of what danger Christ hath delivered him, he cannot love the work. And therefore James saith right, that no such faith that will not work, can justify a man.

Faith that will not work when opportunity serveth, cannot justify.

And when Paul saith, faith only justifieth; And James, that a man is justified by works and not by faith only, there is a great difference between Paul's *only*, and James's *only*. For Paul's *only* is to be understood, that faith justifieth in the heart and before God, without help of works, yea, and ere I can work. For I must receive life through faith to work with, ere I can work. But James's *only* is this wise to be understood, that faith doth not so justify, that nothing justifieth save faith. For deeds do justify also. But faith justifieth in the heart and before God, and the deeds before the world only, and maketh the other seen: as ye may see by the Scripture.

How works justify.

For Paul saith (Rom. iv.) If Abraham have works, he hath whereof to rejoice, but not before God. For if Abraham had received those promises of deserving, then had it been Abraham's praise and not God's, as thou mayest see in the text: neither had God shewed Abraham mercy and grace, but had only given him his duty and deserving. But in that Abraham received all the mercy that was shewed him, freely through faith, out of the deservings of the seed that was promised him, as thou mayest see by Genesis and by the gospel of John, where Christ testifieth that Abraham saw his day and rejoiced,

Rom. iv.

John viii.

and of that joy no doubt wrought, it is God's praise, and the glory of his mercy. And the same mayest thou see by James, when he saith Abraham offered his son, and so was the Scripture fulfilled, that Abraham believed, and it was reckoned him for righteousness, and he was thereby made God's friend.

How was it fulfilled? before God? Nay, it was fulfilled before God many years before, and he was God's friend many years before, even from the first appointment that was made between God and him. Abraham received promises of all mercy, and believed and trusted God, and went and wrought out of that faith. But it was fulfilled before us which cannot see the heart, as James saith, I will shew thee my faith out of my works, and as the angel said to Abraham, now I know that thou dreadest God. Not but that he knew it before, but for us spake he that, which can see nought in Abraham more than in other men, save by his works.

Abraham believed God's promises and therefore was justified.

And what works meant James? verily the works of mercy. As if a brother or a sister lack raiment or sustenance, and ye be not moved to compassion nor feel their diseases, what faith have ye then? No faith (be sure) that feeleth the mercy that is in Christ. For they that feel that, be merciful again and thankful. But look on the works of our spiritualty which will not only be justified with works before the world, but also before God. They have had all Christendom to rule this eight hundred years, and as they be only anointed in the head, so have they only been king and emperor, and have had all power in their hands, and have been the doers only and the leaders of those shadows that have had the name of princes, and have led them whither they would, and have breathed into their brains what they listed. And they have wrought the world out of peace and unity, and every man out of his welfare; and are become alone well at ease, only free, only at liberty, only have all thing, and only do nought therefore, only lay on other men's backs

He that seeth his neighbour in necessity and hath no compassion on him, hath no faith.

and bear nought themselves. And the good works of them that wrought out of faith, and gave their goods and lands to find the poor, them devour they also alone. And what works preach they? Only that are to them profitable, and whereby they reign in men's consciences as God: to offer, to give, to be prayed for, and to be delivered out of purgatory and to redeem your sin of them, and to worship ceremonies, and to be shriven, and so forth.

The papists preach works that are profitable to themselves.

And when M. More is come to himself and saith, the first faith and the first justifying is given us without our deserving. God be thanked, and I would fain that he would describe me what he meaneth by the second justifying. I know no more to do, that when I have received all mercy and all forgiveness of Christ freely, to go and pour out the same upon my neighbour.

MORE. David lost not his faith when he committed adultery.

More. David.

TYNDALE. No, and therefore he could not continue in sin, but repented as soon as his fault was told him. But was he not reconciled by faith only, and not by deeds? said he not, Have mercy on me, Lord, for thy great mercy and for the multitude of thy mercies put away my sin? And again, Make me hear joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice. That is, let me hear thy voice that my sin is forgiven, and then I am safe and will rejoice. And afterward he knowledgeth that God delighteth not in sacrifices for sin, but that a troubled spirit and a broken heart is that which God requireth. And when the peace was made, he prayeth boldly and familiarly to God, that he would be good to Sion and Jerusalem, and saith that then last of all when God hath forgiven us of mercy, and hath done us good for our evil, we shall offer sacrifice of thanks to him again. So that our deeds are but thanksgiving. When we have sinned, we go with a repenting heart unto Christ's blood, and there wash it off through faith. And our deeds are but thanksgiving to God to help our neighbours

Tyndale.

Psalm li.

When we have offended God we must return quickly by repentance and call upon God to hear us for Christ our Saviour's sake.

at their need, for which our neighbours and each of them owe us as much again at our need. So that the Testament or forgiveness of sins, is built upon faith in Christ's blood and not on works. M. More will run to the pope for forgiveness *a pœna et culpa*. By what merits doth the pope that? by Christ's. And Christ hath promised all his merits to them that repent and believe, and not given them unto the pope to sell. And in your absolutions ye oft absolve without enjoining of penance. He must have a purpose to do good works, will ye say. That condition is set before him to do, out of the mercy that he hath received, and not to receive mercy out of them. But the popish cannot repent out of the heart. And therefore cannot feel the mercy that faith bringeth, and therefore cannot be merciful to their neighbours, to do their works for their sakes. But they feign them a sorrow for their sin in which they ever continue, and so mourn for them in the morning that they laugh in them ere mid-day again. And then they imagine them popish deeds, to make satisfaction to God, and make an idol of him.

Pœna culpa.

As we have received at the hand of God mercy, so must we shew mercy to our neighbours.

And finally, that good works, as to give alms and such like, justify not of themselves, is manifest. For as the good which are taught of God do them well, of very love to God and Christ, and of their neighbours for Christ's sake, even so the evil do them of vain glory and a false faith wickedly, as we have ensamples in the pharisees; so that a man must be good ere he can do good. And so is it of the purpose to do them: one's purpose is good and another's evil: so that we must be good ere a good purpose come. Now then, to love the law of God, and to consent thereto, and to have it written in thine heart, and to profess it, so that thou art ready of thine own accord to do it and without compulsion, is to be righteous: that I grant, and that love may be called righteousness, before God passive, and the life and quickness of the soul passive. And so far forth as a man loveth the law of God, so far forth he is righteous, and so

Works of themselves justify not.

He that loveth his neighbour for Christ's sake, the same is righteous.

much as he lacketh of love toward his neighbour, after the ensample of Christ, so much he lacketh of righteousness. And that thing which maketh a man love the law of God, doth make a man righteous, and justifieth him effectively, and actually, and maketh him alive as a workman, and cause efficient. Now what is it that maketh a man to love? Verily not the deeds, for they follow and spring of love, if they be good. Neither the preaching of the law, for that quickeneth not the heart, (Gal. iii.) but causeth wrath, (Rom. vi.) and uttereth sin only. (Rom. iii.) And therefore, saith Paul, that righteousness springeth not out of the deeds of the law into the heart, as the Jews and the pope mean: but contrary, the deeds of the law springing out of the righteousness of the heart, if they be good. As when a father pronounceth the law, that the child shall go to school, it saith Nay. For that killeth his heart, and all his lusts, so that he hath no power to love it. But what maketh his heart alive to love it? Verily, fair promises of love and kindness, that it shall have a gentle schoolmaster, and shall play enough, and shall have many gay things, and so forth. Even so the preaching of faith doth work love in our souls, and make them alive, and draw our hearts to God. The mercy that we have in Christ doth make us love only, and only bringeth the spirit of life into our souls.

All our works if they proceed not of love are nothing.

And therefore saith Paul, we be justified by faith and by grace without deeds: that is, ere the deeds come. For faith only bringeth the Spirit of life, and delivereth our souls from fear of damnation, which is in the law, and ever maketh peace between God and us, as oft as there is any variance between us. And finally, when the peace is made between God and us, and all forgiven through faith in Christ's blood, and we begin to love the law, we were never the nearer except faith went with us, to supply out the lack of full love, in that we have promises, that that little we have is taken a worth, and accepted till more come. And again, when our frailty hath overthrown us,

Faith in Christ maketh our small works acceptable.

and fear of damnation invaded our consciences, we were utterly lost, if faith were not by, to help us up again, in that we are promised that whensoever we repent of evil and come to the right way again, it shall be forgiven for Christ's sake. For when we be fallen, there is no testament made in works to come, that they shall save us. And therefore the works of repentance, or of the sacraments, can never quiet our consciences, and deliver us from fear of damnation.

And last of all, in temptation, tribulation, and adversities, we perished daily, except faith went with us to deliver us, in that we have promises, that God will assist us, clothe us, feed us, and fight for us, and rid us out of the hands of our enemies. And thus the righteous liveth ever by faith, even from faith to faith, that is, as soon as he is delivered out of one temptation another is set before him, to fight against, and to overcome through faith. The Scripture saith, Blessed is the man whose transgression is forgiven, and his sins hid, and unto whom the Lord reckoneth not unrighteousness. So that the only righteousness of him that can but sin, and hath nought of himself to make amends, is the forgiveness of sin, which faith only bringeth. And as farforth as we be unrighteous, faith only justifieth us actively, and else nothing on our part. And as farforth as we have sinned, be in sin, or do sin, or shall sin, so farforth must faith in Christ's blood justify us only, and else nothing. To love, is to be righteous, so farforth as thou lovest, but not to make righteous, nor to make peace. To believe in Christ's blood with a repenting heart, is to make righteous, and the only making of peace and satisfaction to Godward. And thus because terms be dark to them that be not expert and exercised, we alway set our meaning with clear ensamples, reporting ourselves unto the hearts and consciences of all men.

The righteous liveth by faith.

Faith in Christ's blood doth only justify us.

MORE. The blasphemous words of Luther seem to signify, that both John Baptist and our Lady were sinners.

More.

Tyndale. TYNDALE. Jeronn Baptist said to Christ, (Mat. iii.) I had need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me? whereof did John confess that he had need to be washed and purged by Christ, of his holiness and good deeds?

John Baptist and our Lady also were sinners, and looked for the redemption in Christ.

When John said, Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, he was not of that sort, nor had any sins to be taken away at any time, nor any part in Christ's blood, which died for sinners only. John came to restore all thing, saith Christ. That is, he came to interpret the law of God truly, and to prove all flesh sinners, to send them to Christ, as Paul doth in the beginning of the Romans. Which law, if M. More could understand how spiritual it is, and what it requireth of us, he would not so dispute. And if there were no imperfectness in our Lady's deeds, why did Christ rebuke her, (John ii.) when he ought rather to have honoured his mother, and why did he make her seek him three days? *Chrisostomus* dare say that our lady was now and then taken with a little vain glory. She looked for the promises of Him that should come and bless her, from what? She believed to be saved by Christ, from what? This I grant, that our Lady, John Baptist, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, and many like, did never consent to sin, to follow it; but had the Holy Ghost from the beginning. Neverthelater, while they followed the Spirit and wrought their best, yet chances met them by the way, and temptations, that made their works come sometimes unperfectly to pass, as a potter that hath his craft never so well, meeteth a chance now and then, that maketh him fashion a pot amiss. So that I think the perfectest of them all, as we have ensamples of some, were compelled to say with Paul, That good that I would, I do not, and that evil that I would not, that I do. I would not swear on a book, that if our Lady had been let slip as we other were, and as hard apposed with as present death before her eyes, that she would not have denied some things that she knew true, yea but she was preserved by grace that she was not. No, but though she

Chrisostomus.

There was never any but Christ that was without sin.

were kept by grace from the outward deed, yet if there were such wickedness in her flesh, she had sin. And the grace was, that she knew it, and was meek to believe in Christ, to have it forgiven her, and to be preserved that it should not bud forth. John the Evangelist, when he was as holy as ever was John the Baptist, said, If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves. 1 John i.

Then he compareth faith and deeds together, and will that faith should stand in no better service of right than deeds. Yes, for the deeds be examined by the law, and therefore it is not enough to do them only, or to do them with love: but I must do them with as great love as Christ did for me, and as I receive a good deed at my need. But faith is under no law, and therefore be she never so feeble, she shall receive according to the truth of the promiser. Works are under the law. Faith is under no law. More. Tyndale.

MORE. What thing could we ask God of right because we believe him? More.

TYNDALE. Verily, all that he promiseth may we be bold to ask of right, and duty, and by good obligation. Tyndale.

MORE. Ferman said, that all works be good enough in them that God hath chosen. More.

TYNDALE. I am sure it is untrue, for their best be not good enough, though God forgiveth them their evil of his mercy, at the repentance of their hearts. Tyndale.

Then he endeth in his school doctrine contrary unto all the Scripture, that God remitteth not the sin of his chosen people, because that he hath chosen them not of his mercy, but of a towardness that is more in one than in another saying, God saw before that Peter should repent, and Judas would despair, and therefore chose Peter. If God chose Peter because he did repent, why chose he not Judas too, which repented as much as he, and knowledged his sin, and brought the money again? O this blindness, as [if] God had wrought nothing in the repentance of Peter! Said not Christ before, that Peter should fall? And said he not that he had prayed for him The blind and fond reasoning of More. Luke xxii.

that he should be holp up again? Christ prayed a strong prayer for Peter to help him up again, and suffered a strong death thereto. And before his death he committed them unto his Father, saying, I have kept them in thy name and I depart, keep them now from evil. Peter had a good heart to God, and loved his law, and believed in Christ, and had the Spirit of God in him which never left him for all his fall. Peter sinned of no malice, but of frailty and sudden fear of death. And the goodness of God wrought his repentance and all the means by which he was brought up again at Christ's request. And Judas was never good, nor came to Christ for love of his doctrine, but of covetousness, nor did ever believe in Christ.

John xvii.

The difference between Peter's fall, and the fall of Judas.

Judas.

Judas was by nature and birth, (as we all be) heir of the wrath of God, in whom the devil wrought his will and blinded his heart with ignorance. In which ignorance and blindness he grew, as he grew in age, and fell deeper and deeper therein, and thereby wrought all his wickedness, and the devil's will, and perished therein. From which ignorance God purged Peter of his mercy, and gave him light, and his Spirit to govern him, and not of any towardness that was in Peter of his own birth: but for the mercy that we have in the birth of Christ's death.

Judas perished in desperation.

And how will M. More prove that God chooseth not of his goodness but of our towardness? What good towardness can he have and endeavour, that is altogether blind, and carried away at the will of the devil, till the devil be cast out? Are we not robbed of all towardness in Adam, and be by nature made the children of sin, so that we sin naturally, and to sin is our nature? So that as now, though we would do well, the flesh yet sinneth naturally, neither ceaseth to sin, but so farforth as it is kept under with violence: even so once our hearts sinned as naturally, with full lust and consent unto the flesh; the devil possessing our hearts, and keeping

By Adam we are all made the children of the wrath of God.

out the light of grace. What good towardness and endeavour can we have to hate sin, as long as we love it? What good towardness can we have unto the will of God while we hate it and be ignorant thereof. Can the will desire that the wit seeth not? Can the will long for, and sigh for, that the wit knoweth not of? Can a man take thought for that loss that he wotteth not of? What good endeavour can the Turks' children, the Jews' children, and the pope's infants have, when they be taught all falsehood only, with like persuasions of worldly reason, to be all justified with works? It is not therefore as Paul saith of the running or willing, but of the mercy of God, that a man is called and chosen to grace. Rom. ix.

The first grace, the first faith, and the first justifying is given us freely saith M. More, which, I would fain wete how it will stand with his other doctrine; and whether he mean any other thing, by choosing them to have God's Spirit given me, and faith to see the mercy that is laid up for me; and to have my sins forgiven without all deserving, and preparing of myself. God did not see only that the thief that was saved at Christ's death should come thither, but God chose him, to shew his mercy unto us that should after believe; and provided actually, and wrought for the bringing of him thither that day, to make him see and to receive the mercy that was laid up for him in store, before the world was made.

God worketh by divers to make us to call upon and to trust in his mercy.

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER.

IN the twelfth, in chafing himself to heap lie upon lie, he uttereth his feelable blindness. For he asketh this question, Wherefore serveth exhortations unto faith, if the hearers have not liberty of their free-will, by which, together with God's grace, a man may labour to submit the rebellion of reason unto the obedience of faith and credence of the word of God? Whereof ye see, that besides his grant that reason rebelleth against faith, contrary to the Freewill.

doctrine of his first book, he will that the will shall compel the wit to believe. Which is as much to say as the cart must draw the horses, and the son beget the father, and the authority of the church is greater than God's word. For the will cannot teach the wit, nor lead her, but followeth naturally; so that whatsoever the wit judgeth good or evil, that the will loveth or hateth. If the wit see and lead straight, the will followeth. If the wit be blind and lead amiss, the will followeth clean out of the way. I cannot love God's word before I believe it. Nor hate it, before I judge it false and vanity.

The wit leadeth the will.

He might have wiselier spoken on this manner: Wherefore serveth the preaching of faith, if the wit have no power to draw the will to love that which the wit judgeth true and good. If the will be nought, teach the wit better and the will shall alter and turn to good immediately. Blindness is the cause of all evil, and light the cause of all good; so that where the faith is right, there the heart cannot consent unto evil, to follow the lusts of the flesh, as the pope's faith doth. And this conclusion hath he half a dozen times in his book, that the will may compel the wit and captivate it, to believe what a man lusteth. Verily, it is like that his wits be in captivity, and for vantage tangled with our holy father's sophistry.

More's wits are captivated.

His doctrine is after his own feeling and as the profession of his heart is. For the popish have yielded themselves to follow the lusts of their flesh, and compel their wit to abstain from looking on the truth, lest she should unquiet them, and draw them out of the puddle of their filthy voluptuousness. As a cart that is over-laden going up a hill draweth the horses back, and in a tough mire maketh them stand still. And then the carter, the devil which driveth them, is ever by and whistleth unto them, and biddeth them captivate their understanding unto profitable doctrine, for which they shall have no persecution, but shall reign and be kings, and enjoy the pleasures of the world at their own will.

A pretty example.

THE THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

IN the thirteenth he saith that the clergy burneth no man. As though the pope had not first found the law, and as though all his preachers babbled not that in every sermon, Burn these heretics, burn them, for we have no other argument to convince them; and as though they compelled not both king and emperor to swear that they shall so do, ere they crown them!

King Henry V.

Then he bringeth in provisions of king Henry the vth. Of whom I ask M. More, whether he were right heir unto England, or held he the land with the sword as a heathen tyrant, against all right? Whom the prelates, lest he should have had leisure to hearken unto the truth, sent into France, to occupy his mind in war, and led him at their will. And I ask whether his father slew not his liege king and true inheritor unto the crown, and was therefore set up of the bishops a false king, to maintain their falshood? And I ask whether after that wicked deed, followed not the destruction of the commonalty and quenching of all noble blood?

King Henry IV. was an usurper of the crown.

THE FOURTEENTH CHAPTER.

IN the fourteenth he affirmeth that Martin Luther saith it is not lawful to resist the Turk. I wonder that he shameth not so to lie, seeing that Martin hath written a singular treatise for the contrary. Besides that in many other works he proveth it lawful, if he invade us.

The Turk is to be resisted.

THE SIXTEENTH CHAPTER.

IN the sixteenth he allegeth councils. I ask whether councils have authority to make articles of the faith without God's word, yea and of things improved by God's word?

He allegeth Augustine, Jerom, and Cyprian. Let

The union of doctors a good book.

him put their works in English, and St. Prosperus with them. Why damned they the union of doctors, but because the doctors are against them?

And when he allegeth martyrs, let him shew one and take the calf for his labour.

And in the end he biddeth beware of them that live well in any wise. As though they which live evil cannot teach amiss. And if that be true, then they be of the surest side.

More.

MORE. When Tyndale was apposed of his doctrine, ere he went over sea, he said and sware he meant no harm.

Tyndale sweareth.

TYNDALE. He sware not, neither was there any man that required an oath of him: but he now sweareth by Him whom he trusteth to be saved by, that he never meant or yet meaneth any other harm, than to suffer all that God hath prepared to be laid on his back, for to bring his brethren unto the light of our Saviour Jesus, which the pope, through falsehood and corrupting such poets as ye are (ready unto all thing for vantage) leadeth in the darkness of death.

More.

MORE. Tyndale doth know how that St. Augustine and St. Jerom do prove with holy Scripture, that confession is of necessity unto salvation.

Tyndale.

TYNDALE. That is false, if ye mean ear confession. Why allege ye not the places where? But ye know by St. Jerom and other stories, and by the conversation with Erasmus, how it came up, and that the use was once far other than now.

Ear confession.

More. Purgatory.

MORE. I marvel that Tyndale denieth purgatory except he intend to go to hell.

Tyndale.

TYNDALE. He intendeth to purge here unto the uttermost of his power, and hopeth that death will end and finish his purgation. And if there be any other purging, he will commit it to God, and take it as he findeth it, when he cometh at it, and in the meantime take no thought therefore, but for this that is present wherewith

all saints were purged and were taught so to be. And Tyndale marvelleth what secret pills they take to purge themselves, which not only will not purge here with the cross of Christ, but also buy out their purgatory there of the pope, for a groat or sixpence.

THE EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER.

MORE. The clergy doth nothing unto the heretics, but as the holy doctors did. More. Clergy.

TYNDALE. Yes, ye put them in your prisons, and diet them, and handle them after your fashion as temporal tyrants, and dispute with them secretly, and will not come at light. And ye slay them for rebuking you with God's word, and so did not the old holy doctors. If a man slay his father, ye care not. But if any man touch one of you, though he have never so great an occasion given him, ye curse him, and if he will not submit himself unto your punishment, ye leave him unto the temporal power, whom ye have hired with the spoil of his goods to be your hangman, so that he must lose his life, for giving one of you but a blow on the cheek. Tyndale. Note.

MORE. Saint Paul gave two heretics unto the devil, which tormented their flesh, which was no small punishment, and haply he slew them. More.

TYNDALE. O! expounder of the Scripture, like Hugo Charensis which expoundeth, *hæreticum hominem devita*, take the heretic out of his life. We read of no pain that he had whom the Corinthians excommunicated and gave to Satan, to slay his flesh, save that he was ashamed of himself and repented, when he saw his offence so earnestly taken and so abhorred. But ye, because ye have no power to deliver them to Satan to blind their minds, ye deliver them to the fire to destroy their flesh, that no more is seen of them after than the ashes. Tyndale. Paul did excommunicate, but our bishops do burn.

AN EXPOSITION

UPON THE

FIFTH, SIXTH, AND SEVENTH CHAPTERS

OF

MATTHEW.

WHICH THREE CHAPTERS ARE THE KEY AND THE DOOR OF THE SCRIPTURE, AND THE RESTORING AGAIN OF MOSES' LAW, CORRUPT BY THE SCRIBES AND PHARISEES. AND THE EXPOSITION IS THE RESTORING AGAIN OF CHRIST'S LAW CORRUPT BY THE PAPISTS.

¶ Item, before the book, thou hast a Prologue very necessary, containing the whole sum of the covenant made between God and us, upon which we be baptized to keep it.

THE PROLOGUE.

HERE hast thou, dear reader, an exposition upon the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh chapters of Matthew, wherein Christ, our spiritual Isaac, diggeth again the wells of Abraham: which wells the scribes and pharisees, those wicked and spiteful Philistines, had stopped and filled up with the earth of their false expositions. He openeth the kingdom of heaven, which they had shut up that other men should not enter, as they themselves had no lust to go in. He restoreth the key of knowledge which they had taken away, and broken the wards with wresting the text contrary to his due and natural course with their false glosses. He plucketh away from the face of Moses, the veil which the scribes and pharisees had spread thereon, that no man might perceive the brightness of his countenance. He weedeth out the thorns and bushes of their pharisaical glosses, wherewith they had stopped up the narrow way and strait gate, that few could find them.

To dig the wells of Abraham, is to open and make plain the Scriptures, which is the kingdom of God.

The wells of Abraham are the Scripture. And the Scripture may well be called the kingdom of heaven, which is eternal life, and no-

Abraham's wells.

The kingdom of heaven, what it is.

thing save the knowledge of God the Father, and of his Son Jesus Christ. (John xvii.) Moses' face is the law in her right understanding; and the law in her right understanding is the key, or at the leastway, the first and principal key to open the door of the Scripture. And the law is the very way that bringeth unto the door Christ, as it is written Gal. iii. The law was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, that we might be justified by faith. And (Rom. x.) The end of the law; that is to say, the thing, or cause why the law was given, is Christ, to justify all that believe. That is to say: the law was given to prove us unrighteous and to drive us to Christ, to be made righteous through forgiveness of sin by him. The law was given to make the sin known, saith St. Paul, (Rom. iv.) and that sin committed under the law might be the more sinful. (Rom. vii.) The law is that thing which Paul, in his inward man granted to be good, but was yet compelled oft-times of his members to do those things which that good law condemned for evil. (Rom. vii.)

Moses' face.

The key, what it is.

The law is the way that leadeth to Christ.

Law, what her office is.

The law detecteth sin, condemneth our deeds and driveth us to Christ.

The law maketh no man to love the law, or less to do or commit sin: but gendereth more lust, (Rom. vii.) and increaseth sin. (Rom. v.) For I cannot but hate the law, in as much as I find no power to do it, and it nevertheless condemneth me because I do it not. The law setteth not at one with God, but causeth wrath. (Rom. iii.)

The law was given by Moses, but grace and

verity by Jesus Christ. (John i.) Behold, though Moses gave the law, yet he gave no man grace to do it or to understand it aright, or wrote it in any man's heart, to consent that it was good, and to wish after power to fulfil it. But Christ giveth grace to do it, and to understand it aright, and writeth it with his holy Spirit in the tables of the hearts of men, and maketh it a true thing there, and none hypocrisy.

Moses giveth the law, but Christ only giveth grace to do it, and understand it aright.

The law, truly understood, is those fiery serpents that stung the children of Israel with present death. But Christ is the brazen serpent, on whom whosoever, being stung with conscience of sin, and looketh with a sure faith, is healed immediately of that stinging, and saved from the pains and sorrows of hell.

The brazen serpent. Num, xxi.

It is one thing to condemn and pronounce the sentence of death, and to sting the conscience with fear of everlasting pain. And it is another thing to justify from sin: that is to say, to forgive and remit sin, and to heal the conscience, and certify a man, not only that he is delivered from eternal death, but also that he is made the son of God, and heir to everlasting life. The first is the office of the law. The second pertaineth unto Christ only, through faith.

The law and faith be of contrary operations

Now if thou give the law a false gloss, and say that the law is a thing which a man may do of his own strength, even out of the power of his free-will; and that by the deeds of the law, thou mayest deserve forgiveness of thy fore sins; then died Christ in vain, (Gal. ii.) and is made almost of no stead, seeing thou art become thine

The Scripture, how it is locked up.

own saviour. Neither can Christ (where that gloss is admitted) be otherwise taken or esteemed of Christian men (for all his passion and promises made to us in his blood) than he is of the Turks: how that he was a holy prophet, and that he prayeth for us as other saints do: save that we Christians think that he is somewhat more in favour than other saints be (though we imagine him so proud, that he will not hear us but through his mild mother and other holy saints, which all we count much more meek and merciful than he, but him most of might) and that he hath also an higher place in heaven, as the Grey Friars and Observants set him, as it were from the chin upward above St. Francis.

Christ is the door, the way, and foundation of all the Scriptures.

And so when by this false interpretation of the law, Christ which is the door, the way, and the ground, or foundation of all the Scripture, is lost, concerning the chiefest fruit of his passion, and no more seen in his own likeness; then is the Scripture locked up, and henceforth extreme darkness and amaze, wherein if thou walk, thou wottest neither where thou art, nor canst find any way out. It is a confused chaos, and a mingling of all things together without order, every thing contrary to another. It is an hedge or grove of briars, wherein if thou be caught, it is impossible to get out, but that if thou loose thyself in one place, thou art tangled and caught in another for it.

Thiswise was the Scripture locked up of the scribes and pharisees, that the Jews could not

see Christ when he came, nor yet can. And though Christ with these three chapters did open it again; yet by such glosses, for our unthankfulness' sake, that we had no lust to live according, have we Christians lost Christ again, and the understanding of the most clear text, wherewith Christ expoundeth and restoreth the law again.

When by glosses of our own imagination we darken the clear text of God's word, then is the Scripture locked up from us.

For the hypocrites, whatsoever seemeth impossible to their corrupt nature, unrenewed in Christ, that they cover over with the mist of their glosses, that the light thereof should not be seen. As they have interpreted here the words of Christ, wherewith he restoreth the law again, to be but good counsels only, but no precepts that bind the consciences.

And thereto they have so ruffled and tangled the temporal and spiritual regiment together, and made thereof such confusion, that no man can know the one from the other: to the intent that they would seem to have both by the authority of Christ, which never usurped temporal regiment unto him.

Christ used no temporal regiment.

Notwithstanding (most dear reader) if thou read this composition with a good heart, only to know the truth for the amending chiefly of thine own living, and then of other men's (as charity requireth where an occasion is given) then shalt thou perceive their falsehood, and see their mist expelled with the brightness of the inevitable truth.

Another conclusion is this; all the good promises which are made throughout all the Scrip-

Christ is a gift given only to them that love the law and profess it.

ture, for Christ's sake, for his love, his passion or suffering, his bloodshedding or death, are all made us on this condition and covenant on our party, that we henceforth love the law of God, to walk therein, and to do it, and to fashion our lives thereafter. Insomuch that whosoever hath not the law of God written in his heart, that he love it, have his lust in it, and record therein night and day, understanding it as God hath given it, and as Christ and the apostles expound it; the same hath no part in the promises, nor can have any true faith in the blood of Christ; because there is no promise made him, but to them only that promise to keep the law.

He that professeth not the law hath no part in the promises.

Thou wilt haply say to me again: if I cannot have my sins forgiven except I love the law, and of love endeavour myself to keep it; then the keeping of the law justifieth me. I answer that the argument is false, and but blind sophistry, and like unto this argument: I cannot have forgiveness of my sin except I have sinned, ergo, to have sinned is the forgiveness of sins. And it is like to this also, no man can be healed of the pocks but he that hath them; ergo, to have the pocks doth heal the pocks.

Works do not justify.

And like sophistry are these arguments: if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments: (Matt. xix.) ergo, the deeds of the law justify us. Item, the hearers of the law are not righteous in the sight of God, but the doers of the law shall be justified: (Rom. ii.) ergo, the deeds of the law justify from sin. And again:

we must all stand before the judgment seat of Christ, to receive every man according to the deeds which he did in the body: ergo, the law, or the deeds of the law, justify. 2 Cor v.

These, and all such, are naughty arguments. For ye see that the king pardoneth no murderer but on a condition, that he henceforth keep the law, and do no more so; and yet ye know well enough that he is saved by grace, favour, and pardon, ere the keeping of the law come. Howbeit, if he break the law afterward, he falleth again into the same danger of death.

The law. By keeping the law we continue in grace.

Even so, none of us can be received to grace but upon a condition to keep the law, neither yet continue any longer in grace than that purpose lasteth. And if we break the law, we must sue for a new pardon, and have a new fight against sin, hell, and desperation, ere we can come to a quiet faith again, and feel that the sin is forgiven. Neither can there be in thee a stable and an undoubted faith that thy sin is forgiven thee, except there also be a lusty courage in thine heart, and a trust that thou wilt sin no more, for on that condition that thou endeavour thyself to sin no more, is the promise of mercy and forgiveness made unto thee.

Faith, love, and hope are inseparable in this life.

And as thy love to the law increaseth, so doth thy faith in Christ, and so doth thine hope and longing for the life to come. And as thy love is cold, so is thy faith weak, and thine hope and longing for the life to come little. And where no love to the law is, there is neither faith in

Christ for the forgiveness of sin, nor longing for the life to come; but instead of faith, a wicked imagination that God is so unrighteous that he is not offended with sin. And instead of hope, a desire to live for ever here, and a greediness of worldly voluptuousness.

They that love not the law cannot understand the Scripture to salvation.

And unto all such is the Scripture locked up, and made impossible to understand. They may read it, and rehearse the stories thereof, and dispute of it, as the Turks may, and as we may of the Turks' law. And they may suck pride, hypocrisy, and all manner of poison there-out, to slay their own souls, and to put stumbling-blocks in other men's ways, to thrust them from the truth: and get such learning therein as in Aristotle's Ethics and Moral Philosophy, and in the precepts of old philosophers. But it is impossible for them to apply one sentence thereof to their soul's health, for to fashion their lives thereby for to please God, or to make them love the law or understand it, either to feel the power of Christ's death, and might of his resurrection, and the sweetness of the life to come. So that they ever remain carnal and fleshly, as thou hast an ensample of the scribes, pharisees, and Jews, in the New Testament.

Care.

How God careth for the weak.

Another conclusion is this: of them that believe in Christ for the remission of sin, and love the law, are a thousand degrees and not so few, one perfecter or weaker than another: of which a great sort are so feeble that they can neither go forward in their profession and purpose; nor

yet stand except they be holp and borne of their stronger brethren, and tended as young children are by the care of their fathers and mothers. And therefore doth God command the elder to care for the younger. As Paul teacheth, (Rom. xv.) saying: We that be stronger, ought to bear the feebleness of the weaker. And (Gal. vi.) Brethren if any man be caught in any fault, ye that be spiritual and are grown in knowledge and have gotten the victory of your flesh, teach such with the spirit of softness, not calling them heretics at the first chop, and threatening them with fire and fagots. But *alter alterius onera portate* (saith he) and *sic adimplebitis legém Christi.* That is to say: bear each other's burthen, and so shall ye fulfil the law of Christ. Even so verily shall ye fulfil the law of Christ, and not with smiting your brethren, and putting stumbling blocks before their weak feet, and killing their consciences, and making them more afraid of shadows and bugs, than to break their Father's commandments, and to trust in words of wind and vanity, more than in their Father's promise.

By bearing each other's weakness we fulfil the law of Christ.

And for their sakes also, he hath ordained rulers both spiritual and temporal, to teach them and exhort them; to warn them and to keep occasions from them, that with custom of sin they fall not from their profession.

Rulers why they were ordained.

Now when they that take upon them to be the elder brethren, are become hypocrites, and turned to wily foxes, and cruel wolves, and

Why God scourgeth his.

fierce lions, and the officers be waxen evil and servants to Mammon, ministering their offices for their own lucre only, and not for the profit of their brethren, but favouring all vices whereby they may have a vantage; then is God compelled of his fatherly pity to scourge his weak himself, with poverty, oppression, wrong, loss, danger, and with a thousand manner of diseases, to bring them again, if they be fallen, and to keep their hearts fast to their profession. So that *diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum.* (Rom. viii.) They that love God, that is to say, the law of God, (for that is to love God) unto them God turneth all to the best, and scourgeth them with the lusts of their own weakness to their own salvation.

The conditions of the covenant.

Another conclusion is this: God receiveth both perfect and weak in like grace for Christ's sake, as a father receiveth all his children both small and great in like love. He receiveth them to be his sons and maketh a covenant with them, to bear their weakness for Christ's sake, till they be waxen stronger; and how often soever they fall, yet to forgive them if they will turn again; and never to cast off any, till he yield himself to sin, and take sin's part, and for affection and lust to sin, fight against his own profession to destroy it. And he correcteth and chastiseth his children ever at home with the rod of mercy and love, to make them better; but he bringeth them not forth to be judged after the condemnation of the law.

Another conclusion is this: every man is two men, flesh and spirit. Which so fight perpetually against one another, that a man must go either back or forward, and cannot stand long in one state. If the spirit overcome the temptation; then is she stronger, and the flesh weaker. But, and if the flesh get a custom, then is the spirit none otherwise oppressed of the flesh, than as though she had a mountain upon her back, and as we sometime in our dreams think we bear heavier than a millstone on our breasts, or when we dream now and then that we would run away for fear, our legs seem heavier than lead. Even so is the spirit oppressed and overladen of the flesh through custom, that she struggleth and striveth to get up and break loose in vain, until the God of mercy which heareth her groan through Jesus Christ, come and loose her with his power, and put his cross of tribulaon the back of the flesh to keep her down, to minish her strength and to mortify her.

Flesh and spirit.

Wherefore every man must have his cross to nail his flesh to, for the mortifying of her. Now if thou be not strong enough and discreet thereto, to take up thy cross thyself, and to tame thy flesh with prayer and fasting, watching, deeds of mercy, holy meditations and reading the Scripture, and with bodily labour, and withdrawing all manner of pleasures from the flesh, and with exercises contrary to the vices which thou markest thy body most inclined to, and with abstaining from all that courage the flesh

Cross.

Evil lusts and affections are to be purged with the cross of Christ.

against the spirit: as reading of wanton books, wanton communication, foolish jesting and effeminate thoughts, and talking of covetousness, which Paul forbiddeth Eph. v. and magnifying of worldly promotions; and takest, I say, up such a cross by thine ownself, or by the counsel of other that are better learned and exercised than thou; then must God put his cross of adversity upon thee. For we must have every man his cross in this world, or be damned with the world.

To sin under grace, and to sin under the law.

Of this ye see the difference between the sin of them that believe in the blood of Christ for the remission of sin, and consent and submit themselves unto the law: and the sin of them that yield themselves unto sin to serve it, &c. The first sin under grace, and their sins are venial, that is to say, forgiveable. The other sin under under the law, and under the damnation of the law, and fight (for a great part of them) against grace and against the spirit of grace, and against the law of God and faith of Christ, and corrupt the text of the covenant with false glosses, and are disobedient to God, and therefore sin deadly.

Lambs. Swine. Dogs.

Of this also ye see the difference between the lambs of true believers, and between the unclean swine that follow carnal lusts and fleshly liberty, and the churlish and hypocritish dogs. Which, for the blind zeal of their own righteousness, persecute the righteousness of the faith in Christ's blood. The effeminate and careless

swine which continue in their fleshliness, and cease not to wallow themselves in their old puddle, think that they believe very well in Christ's blood, but they are deceived (as thou mayest clearly perceive) because they fear not the damnation of evil works, nor love the law of good works, and therefore have no part in the promise.

Swine have no faith.

The cruel and doggish hypocrites which take upon them to work, think they love the law, which yet they never saw, save under a vail. But they be deceived (as thou mayest perceive) by that they believe not in Christ for the forgiveness of sin. Whereby also (I mean that they believe not) thou mayest perceive that they understand not the law. For if they understood the law, it would either drive them to Christ, or make them despair immediately.

Dogs love not the law.

But the true believers behold the law in her own likeness, and see the impossibility thereof to be fulfilled with natural power, and therefore flee to Christ for mercy, grace, and power; and then of a very thankfulness for the mercy received, love the law in her own likeness, and submit themselves to learn it and to profit therein, and to do to-morrow that they cannot do to-day.

True faith is coupled with love to the law.

Ye see also the difference of all manner of faiths. The faith of the true believers is, that God justifieth or forgiveth, and Christ deserveth it, and the faith or trust in Christ's blood receiveth it, and certifieth the conscience there-

The difference of faiths, and how it is to be understood faith justifieth.

of, and saveth and delivereth her from fear of death and damnation. And this is that we mean when we say, faith justifieth: that faith (I mean in Christ and not in our own works) certifieth the conscience that our sins are forgiven us for Christ's blood's sake.

Faith of hypocrites.

But the faith of hypocrites is that God forgiveth and works deserve it. And that same false faith in their own works receiveth the mercy promised to the merits of their own works: and so Christ is utterly excluded.

And thus ye see that faith is the thing that is affirmed to justify, of all parties. For faith in Christ's blood (which is God's promise) quieteth the conscience of the true believers. And a false faith or trust in works (which is their own feigning) beguileth the blind hypocrites for a season, till God for the greatness of their sin, when it is full, openeth their eyes, and then they despair. But the swine say: God is so good that he will save devils and all, and damn no man perpetually, whatsoever he do.

Faith of swine.

Another conclusion is this: to believe in Christ for the remission of sins, and of a thankfulness for that mercy to love the law truly: that is to say, to love God that is the father of all and giveth all, and Jesus Christ that is Lord of us all, and bought us all, with all our hearts, souls, power, and might, and our brethren for our Father's sake (because they be created after his image,) and for our Lord and master Christ's sake, because they be the price of his blood;

and to long for the life to come, because this life cannot be led without sin. These three points (I say) are the profession and religion of a Christian man, and the inward baptism of the heart signified by the outward washing of the body. And they be that spiritual character, badge, or sign, wherewith God through his Spirit, marketh all his immediately, and as soon as they be joined to Christ, and made members of his church by true faith.

The right baptism.

The church of Christ, then, is the multitude of all them that believe in Christ for the remission of sin, and of a thankfulness for that mercy love the law of God purely and without glosses, and, of hate they have to the sin of this world, long for the life to come. This is the church that cannot err damnably, nor any long time, nor all of them; but as soon as any question ariseth, the truth of God's promise stirreth up one or other to teach them the truth of every thing needful to salvation out of God's word; and lighteneth the hearts of the other true members to see the same, and to consent thereto.

The church of Christ.

And as all they that have their hearts washed with this inward baptism of the Spirit are of the church, and have the keys of the Scripture; yea, and of binding and loosing, and do not err; even so they that sin of purpose and will not hear when their faults be told them, but seek liberties and privileges to sin unpunished, and gloss out the law of God, and maintain ceremonies, traditions and customs, to destroy the

Whosoever derogate any thing from the faith of Christ are not of the church.

faith of Christ; the same be members of Satan, and all their doctrine is poison, error and darkness; yea, though they be popes, bishops, abbots, curates, and doctors of divinity, and though they can rehearse all the Scripture without book, and though they be seen in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin: yea, and though they so preach Christ and the passion of Christ, that they make the poor women weep and howl again. For when they come to the point that they should minister Christ's passion unto the salvation of our souls, there they poison altogether, and gloss out the law that should make us feel our salvation in Christ, and drive us in that point from Christ, and teach us to put our trust in our own works for the remission and satisfaction of our sins, and in the apish play of hypocrites which sell their merits in stead of Christ's blood and passion.

They that have not the law written in their hearts cannot understand the passion of Christ to salvation.

Lo, now (dear reader) to believe in Christ's blood for the remission of sin, and purchasing of all the good promises that help to the life to come; and to love the law, and to long for the life to come, is the inward baptism of the soul, the baptism that only availeth in the sight of God, the new generation and image of Christ, the only key also to bind and loose sinners; the touchstone to try all doctrines; the lantern and light that scattereth and expelleth the mist and darkness of all hypocrisy, and a preservative against all error and heresy; the mother all good works; the earnest of ever-

A short repeating.

What the inward baptism of the soul is.

lasting life, and title whereby we challenge our inheritance.

And though faith in Christ's blood make the marriage between a soul and Christ, and is properly the marriage garment, yea, and the sign Thau, that defendeth us from the smiting and power of the evil angels, and is also the rock whereon Christ's church is built, and whereon all that is built standeth against all weather of wind and tempests; yet might the profession of the faith in Christ's blood, and of the love to the law, and longing for the life to come, be called all these things, were malice and froward understanding away; because that where one of them is, there will be all three, and where all are not, there is none of them.

Thau.

Faith, hope, and charity, are inseparable.

And because that the one is known by the other, and is impossible to know any of them truly, and not be deceived, but in respect and comparison of the other.

For if thou wilt be sure that thy faith be perfect, then examine thyself whether thou love the law. And in like manner, if thou wilt know whether thou love the law aright, then examine thyself whether thou believe in Christ only for the remission of sin, and obtaining the promises made in the Scripture. And even so compare thy hope of the life to come unto faith and love, and to hating the sin of this life; which hate, the love to the law engendereth in thee. And if they accompany not one another, all

Faith, hope, and charity are known one by the other.

three together, then be sure that all is but hypocrisy.

If you say, seeing faith, love, and hope be three virtues inseparable: ergo, faith only justifieth not. I answer, though they be inseparable yet they have separate and sundry offices, as it is above said of the law and faith. Faith only, which is a sure and an undoubted trust in Christ and in the Father through him, certifieth the conscience that the sin is forgiven, and the damnation and impossibility of the law, taken away (as it is above rehearsed in the conditions of the covenant.) And with such persuasions mollifieth the heart and maketh her love God again and his law.

The office of faith.

And as oft as we sin, faith only keepeth that we forsake not our profession, and that love utterly quench not, and hope fail, and only maketh the peace again. For a true believer trusteth in Christ only, and not in his own works or aught else, for the remission of sin.

The office of love.

And the office of love is to pour out again the same goodness that she hath received of God upon her neighbour, and to be to him as she feeleth Christ to herself. The office of love only is to have compassion, and to bear with her neighbour the burthen of his infirmities. And as it is written (1 Pet. 4.) *Operit multitudinem peccatorum* covereth the multitude of sins. That is to say, considereth the infirmities and interpreteth all to the best, and taketh for no sin at all, a thousand things of which the least were

enough (if a man loved not) to go to law for and to trouble and unquiet an whole town, and sometime an whole realm or two.

And the office of hope is to comfort in adversity and make patient, that we faint not, and fall down under the cross, or cast it off our backs. And thus ye see that these three inseparable in this life, have yet separable and sundry offices and effects, as heat and drith being inseparable in the fire, have yet their separable operations. For the drith only expelleth the moistness of all that is consumed by fire, and heat only destroyeth the coldness. For drith and cold may stand together, and so may heat and moistness. It is not all one to say, the drith only, and the drith that is alone; nor all one to say, faith only, and faith that is alone.

The office of hope.

Go to then, and desire God to print this profession in thine heart, and to increase it daily more and more, that thou mayest be full shapen like unto the image of Christ in knowledge and love, and meek thyself, and creep low by the ground, and cleave fast to the rock of this profession, and tie to thy ship this anchor of faith in Christ's blood, with the cable of love, to cast it out against all tempests; and so set up thy sail, and get thee to the main sea of God's word. And read here the words of Christ with this exposition following, and thou shalt see the law, faith, and works, restored each to his right use and true meaning. And thereto the clear difference between the spiritual regiment

The anchor of our salvation is perfect faith in Christ's blood.

and the temporal, and shalt have an entrance and open way into the rest of all the Scripture. Wherein, and in all other things the spirit of verity guide thee, and thine understanding. Amen.

AN EXPOSITION

UPON

THE FIFTH, SIXTH, AND SEVENTH CHAPTERS

OF

MATTHEW.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER OF MATTHEW.

WHEN he saw the people, he went up into a mountain and sat him down, and his disciples came to him, and he opened his mouth and taught them, saying: Blessed be the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

CHRIST here in his first sermon beginneth to restore the law of the ten commandments unto her right understanding, against the scribes and pharisees which were hypocrites, false prophets, and false preachers; and had corrupt the Scripture with the leaven of their glosses. And it is not without a great mystery that Christ beginneth his

preaching at poverty in spirit, which is neither beggary nor against the possessing of riches. But a virtue contrary to the vice of covetousness, the inordinate desire and love of riches, and putting trust in riches. Poverty of spirit.

Riches is the gift of God, given man to maintain the degrees of this world, and therefore not evil; yea, and some must be poor and some rich, if we shall have an order in this world. And God our father divideth riches and poverty among his children according to his godly pleasure and wisdom. And as riches doth not exclude thee from the blessing, so doth not poverty certify thee: but to put thy trust in the living God, maketh thee heir thereof. For if thou trust in the living God, then if thou be poor, thou covetest not to be rich, for thou art certified that thy Father shall minister unto thee food and raiment, and be thy defender; and if thou have riches thou knowest that they be but vanity, and that as thou broughtest them not into the world, so shalt thou not carry them out; and that as they be thine to day, so may they be another man's to-morrow; and that the favour of God only both gave, and also keepeth thee and them, and not thy wisdom or power: and that they, neither ought else can help at need, save the good will of thy heavenly Father only. Happy and blessed then are the poor in spirit, that is to say, the rich, that have not their confidence nor consolation in the vanity of their riches; and the poor, that desire not inordinately to be rich, but have their trust in the living God, for food and raiment, and for all that pertaineth either to the body or the soul; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Riches. Neither riches nor poverty exclude, or assure us of God's blessing. Who are poor in spirit is here pithily declared.

And contrariwise, unhappy and accursed, and that with the first and deepest of all curses, are the rich in spirit, that is to say, the covetous that being rich, trust in their riches, or being poor, long for the consolation of riches; and comfort not their souls with the promises of their heavenly Father, confirmed with the blood of their Lord Christ. For unto them it is harder to enter into the kingdom of heaven, than for a camel to enter through the eye Rich in spirit.

of a needle. (Mark x.) No, they have no part in the kingdom of Christ and God. (Eph. v.) Therefore is it evident why Christ so diligently warneth all his to beware of covetousness, and why he admitteth none to be his disciples except he first forsake altogether. For there was never covetous person true yet either to God or man.

Covetousness is a thing contrary to the word of God and to the ministers of the same.

If a covetous man be chosen to preach God's word, he is a false prophet immediately. If he be of the lay sort so joineth he himself unto the false prophets to persecute the truth. Covetousness is not only above all other lusts, (those thorns that choke the word of God in them that possess it,) but it is also a deadly enemy to all that interpret God's word truly. All other vices, though they laugh them to scorn that talk godly, yet they can suffer them to live and to dwell in the country: but covetousness cannot rest as long as there is one that cleaveth to God's word in all the land.

By covetousness is a false prophet chiefly known.

Take heed to thy preacher therefore, and be sure, if he be covetous and gape for promotion, that he is a false prophet, and leaveneth the Scripture, for all his crying, Fathers, fathers, holy church, and fifteen hundred years, and for all his other holy pretences.

2. *Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.*

Some cry, The world is nought; not for their own, and others' iniquity, but for wayward-ness they cannot enjoy their own lusts.

This mourning is also in the Spirit, and no kin to the sour looking of hypocrites, nor to the impatient waywardness of those fleshly which ever whine and complain that the world is nought, because they cannot obtain and enjoy their lusts therein. Neither forbiddeth it always to be merry, and to laugh, and make good cheer now and then, to forget sorrow, that overmuch heaviness swallow not a man clean up. For the wise man saith, Sorrow hath *cost* many their lives.

And Prov. xvii. an heavy spirit drieth up the *bones*. And Paul commandeth, (Phil. iv.) to rejoice ever. And (Rom. xii.) he saith, Rejoice with them that rejoice, *and*

sorrow with them that sorrow, and weep with them that weep, which seem two contraries.

Godly mourning.

This mourning is that cross without which was never any disciple of Christ, or ever shall be. For of what soever state or degree thou be in this world, if thou profess the gospel, there followeth thee a cross (as warmness accompanieth the sun shining) under which thy spirit shall groan and mourn secretly, not only because the world and thine own flesh carry thee away clean contrary to the purpose of thine heart; but also to see and behold the wretchedness and misfortunes of thy brethren; for which (because thou lovest them as well as thyself) thou shalt mourn and sorrow no less than for thyself. Though thou be king or emperor, yet if thou knowest Christ, and God through Christ, and intendest to walk in the sight of God, and to minister thine office truly, thou shalt (to keep justice with all) be compelled to do daily that, which thou art no less loath to do, than if thou shouldest cut off arm, hand, or any other member of thine own body; yea, and if thou wilt follow the right way, and neither turn on the right hand nor on the left, thou shalt have immediatly thine own subjects, thine own servants, thine own lords, thine own counsellors, and thine own prophets thereto against thee. Unto whose froward malice and stubbornness, thou shalt be compelled to permit a thousand things against thy conscience, not able to resist them, at which thine heart shall bleed inwardly, and shalt sauce thy sweet sops, which the world weneth thou hast, with sorrows enough; and still mourning, studying either alone, or else with a few friends secretly night and day, and sighing to God for help to mitigate the furious frowardness of them whom thou art not able to withstand, that all go not after the will of the ungodly. What was David compelled to suffer all the days of his life, of his own servants the sons of Servia, beside the mischances of his own children? And how was our king John forsaken of his own lords, when he would have put a good and godly reformation in his own

As warmth accompanieth the sun, so followeth the cross a true christian man.

King John.

Henry the second.

land? How was Henry the second compassed in like manner of his own prelates whom he had promoted of nought, with the secret conspiracy of some of his own temporal lords with them? I spare to speak of the mourning of the true preachers, and the poor common people which have none other help, but the secret hand of God, and the word of his promise.

The promise of God's word is the comfort of the afflicted in this world for Christ's sake.

But they shall be comforted of all their tribulation, and their sorrow shall be turned into joy, and that infinite and everlasting in the life to come. Neither are they without comfort here in this world, for Christ hath promised to send them a Comforter to be with them for ever, the Spirit of truth which the world knoweth not. (John xiv.) And they rejoice in hope [of the comfort to come]. (Rom. xii.)

Faith is our victory.

And they overcome through faith, as it is written, (Heb. xi.) The saints through faith overcame kingdoms and obtained the promises. And (1 John v.) This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. But the blind world neither seeth our comfort nor our trust in God, nor how God, through faith in his word, helpeth us and maketh us overcome.

By persecution and death for the truth's sake, we obtain life, and get the victory.

How overcome they (wilt thou say) that be always persecuted and ever slain? Verily in every battle some of them that win the field be slain, yet, they leave the victory unto their dear friends, for whose sakes they took the fight upon them, and therefore are conquerors, seeing they obtain their purpose, and maintain that they fought for. The cursed rich of this world which have their joy and comfort in their riches, have since the beginning fought against them, to weed them out of the world. But yet in vain. For though they have always slain some, yet those that were slain, won the victory for their brethren with death, and ever increased the number of them. And though they seemed to die in the sight of the foolish, yet they are in peace and have obtained that everlasting kingdom for which they fought. And beside all this, when God plagueth the world for their sin, these that mourn and

sorrow are marked with the sign of Thau in their foreheads, and saved from the plague, that they perish not with the wicked, as thou seest Ezek. ix., and as Lot was delivered from among the Sodomites.

The mourners for righteousness are saved when God taketh vengeance on the unrighteous.

And contrariwise, cursed are they that laugh now, that is to say, which have their joy, solace, and comfort in their riches, for they shall sorrow and weep. (Luke vi.) And as it was answered the rich man, (Luke xvi.) Son, remember how that thou receivedst thy good days in thy life time, and Lazarus likewise evil. And therefore is he comforted and thou tormented.

Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth. 5.

Meekness possesseth the earth.

By the earth understand all that we possess in this world, which all, God will keep for us, if we be soft and meek. And whatsoever trouble arise, yet, if we will be patient and abide, the end will go on our side; as it is written in the thirty-sixth Psalm, The wicked shall be weeded out, but they that abide the Lord's leisure, shall inherit the earth. And again: within a while the wicked shall be gone, thou shalt behold the place where he was, and he shall be away, but the meek, or soft, shall inherit the earth. Even as we say, be still and have thy will, and of little meddling cometh much rest: for a patient man shall wear out all his enemies.

It is impossible to dwell in any place where no displeasure should be done thee. If it be done unwillingly, as when thy neighbour's beasts break into thy corn by some chance against his will, then it is reason that thou be soft and forgive. If it be done of malice and self will, then with revenging, thou dost but with pottering in the fire make the flame greater, and givest an occasion of more evil to be done thee. If any man rail on thee and rebuke thee, answer not again, and the heat of his malice shall die in itself, and go out immediately, as fire doth when no more wood is laid thereon. If the wrong that is done be greater

Refer the revenge of thy cause to the magistrate whom God appointeth to forbid such violence.

than thou art able to bear, trust in God and complain with all meekness unto the officer, that is set of God to forbid such violence. And if the gentlemen that dwell about thee be tyrants, be ready to help to fetch home their wood, to plough their land, to bring in their harvest, and so forth; and let thy wife visit my lady now and then with a couple of fat hens, or a fat capon, and such like, and then thou shalt possess all the remnant in rest, or else one quarrel or other may be picked to thee, to make thee quit of all together.

Choose whether thou wilt with softness and suffering have God on thy side, ever to save thee, and to give thee ever enough, and to have a good conscience and peace on the earth; or with furiousness and impatience to have God against thee, and to be polled a little and a little of altogether, and to have an evil conscience and never rest on earth, and to have thy days shortened thereto. God hath promised, if thou be meek and soft and suffer a little persecution, to give thee not only the life to come, but also an hundred fold here in this life: that is to say, to give thee his ownself, and to be thy protector, and minister to thee ever enough, which may of right be called an hundred fold: and is a treasure passing the treasure of all princes.

Hundred fold.

The private person may not avenge, but the officer must.

Finally, Christ teacheth here how every man must live for himself among them to whom he is a neighbour, and in private matters in which he is but as a neighbour (though he be a king) and in which thou canst not be too soft. But, and if thou be an officer, then thou must be good, kind, and merciful, but not a milksop and negligent. And to whom thou art a father, them must thou rule, and make obedient, and that with sharpness, if softness will not be heard, and so in all other offices.

4. *Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be fulfilled.*

Righteousness.

Righteousness in this place is not taken for the princi-

pal righteousness of a christian man, through which the person is good and accepted before God. For these eight points are but doctrine of the fruits and works of a christian man, before which the faith must be there: to make righteous without all deserving of works, and as a tree out of which all such fruits and works must spring. Wherefore understand here the outward righteousness before the world, and true and faithful dealing each with other, and just executing of the offices of all manner [of] degrees, and meekness is obedience of all that are under power. So that the meaning is; happy are they which not only do their duties to all men, but also study and help to the uttermost of their power with word, deed, counsel, and exhorting, that all other deal truly also, according to the degree that every man beareth in the world, and be as desirous to further good order and righteous dealing, as the hungry and thirsty be desirous to eat and drink.

How this word righteousness ought here to be understood.

And note, that it is not for naught that he saith, hunger and thirst. For except thy soul hunger and thirst for this righteousness of her new nature, as the body doth for meat and drink of his old nature, the devil and the children of this world (which cannot suffer that a man either deal truly himself, or help other) will so resist thee, plague thee, and so weary thee, that thou haddest lever of very mistrust and desperation, that thy state should be better, to forsake all, and make thyself a monk or a friar; yea, and to run into a strange country, and leave all thy friends, than to abide in the world, and to let it choose whether it will sink or swim.

Monks.

Monks why they run into religion.

But to comfort us, that we faint not, or be weary of well doing, Christ promiseth that all that have this thirst and hunger, shall have their lust satisfied, and be translated into a kingdom, where none unrighteousness is; besides that thou shalt here at length see many come to the right way and help with thee, and many things that cannot be altogether mended, yet somewhat bettered and more tolerable; so that all righteousness shall not be quenched.

And contrariwise, Cursed be all they that are full, as Luke in the sixth saith, that is to say, the hypocrites which, to avoid all labour, sorrow, care, cumbrance, and suffering with their brethren, get them to dens, to live at rest, and to fill their bellies, the wealth of other men not regarded. No, it were a grief to them that other were better, that they alone may be taken for holy; and that whosoever will to heaven, must buy it of them; yea, they be so full, that they prefer themselves before poor sinners, and look as narrowly on them as the pharisee did on the publican, thanking God that he alone was good, and the other evil. Cursed are they yet for all their fulness, for they shall hunger with everlasting hunger, where none shall give them to eat, nor they have any refreshing of their pains.

Luke vi.

Monks be cursed.

5. *Blessed be the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.*

To be merciful, what it is; and how many ways mercy may be shewed.

To be merciful, is to have compassion and to feel another man's disease; and to mourn with them that mourn, and suffer with them that suffer; and to help and succour them that are in tribulation and adversity; and to comfort them with good counsel, and wholesome instruction, and loving words. And to be merciful, is lovingly to forgive them that offended thee, as soon as they knowledge their misdoing and ask thee mercy. To be merciful, is patiently long to abide the conversion of sinners, with a lusty courage, and hope that God will at the last convert them, and in the mean time to pray instantly for them, and ever when he seeth an occasion, to exhort them, warn them, monish them, and rebuke them. And to be merciful, is to interpret all to the best, and to look through the fingers at many things, and not to make a grievous sin of every small trifle, and to suffer and forbear in his own cause the malice of them that will not repent nor be aknown of their wickedness, as long as he can suffer it, and as long as it ought to be suffered, and when he can no longer,

then to complain to them that have authority to forbid wrong, and to punish such evil doers.

But the hypocrites, clean contrary, condemn all men for grievous sinners, save them only that buy their holiness of them. And because they will suffer with no man, they get them to silence. And because they will help with no man, all that they have, (say they) pertaineth unto the convent, and is none of theirs. And if they be offended, they will be avenged immediately. And to cloak, that they should not seem to avenge themselves, the matter (say they) pertaineth to God and holy church, or to some saint, or to one or other holy thing: as if thou smite one of them on the one cheek, he will turn to thee the other ere he will avenge himself. But the injury of the holy oil wherewith he was anointed, that must he avenge, and that with a spiritual punishment, that thou must be accursed as black as a collier, and delivered to Satan. And if thou come not in and ask absolution, and to offer thyself to penance and to paying thereto, they will not suffer till the devil fetch thee. But will deliver thee to the fire in the mean time. And all for zeal of righteousness (say they).

Monks.

Convent.

Oil.

Holy oil must be avenged.

O hypocrites! the zeal of righteousness is to hunger and thirst for righteousness, as it is above described: that is, to care, and study, and to do the uttermost of thy power, that all things went in the right course and due order both through all degrees of the temporalty and also of the spiritualty, and to jeopardy life and goods thereon.

Zeal of righteousness what it is.

All the world can bear record what pain ye take and how ye care for the temporal commonwealth, that all degrees therein did, and had their duty: and how ye put your lives in adventure to preach the truth: and to inform lords and princes, and to cry upon them to fear God and to be learned, and to minister their offices truly unto their subjects, and to be merciful, and an ensample of virtue unto them! And how help ye that youth were brought up in learning and virtue, and that the poor were provided for of food and raiment &c.! And how provide ye that your

Care.

How the spiritualty care for the temporal commonwealth.

priests be all learned, and preach, and do their duties truly every man in his parish? How provide ye that sects arise not to poll the people and lead them out of the way, under a colour of long praying and hypocritish holiness, living themselves idle and being utterly unto the commonwealth unprofitable? Who smelleth not the sweet odour of chastity that is among you? What righteousness is in your sanctuaries, and what indifferent equity is in all your exemptions, privileges, and liberties? By your works we judge you and your zeal to righteousness, and not by your sophistical subtle reasons with which ye would claw our ears, blear our eyes, and beguile our wits, to take your tyrannous covetous crudelity for the zeal of righteousness!

As thou art merciful, so shalt thou obtain mercy in the life to come.

Finally, he that will not be merciful, to be blessed of God, and to obtain mercy of him both here, and in the life to come; let him be accursed with the unmerciful, and to him be judgment without mercy, according to the words of St. James in the second chapter of his Epistle.

6. *Blessed be the pure in heart, for they shall see God.*

The filthiness of the heart, what.

That which entereth into a man defileth not a man. But the things that defile a man, proceed first out of his heart, as thou mayest see Matt. xv. Thence come out evil thoughts (saith Christ) as murder, adultery, fornication, theft, false witnessings and blasphemies. These are the things that make a man foul. A man then is not foul in the sight of God, till his heart be foul. And the filthiness of the heart are thoughts that study to break God's commandments.

The pureness of the heart, what.

Wherefore the pureness of the heart is the consenting and studious purpose to keep the law of God, and to mean truly in all thy words and works, and to do them with a true intent.

It followeth then that thou mayest be pure hearted, and therewith do all that God hath commanded or not forbidden. Thou mayest be pure hearted and have a wife and get children; be a judge and condemn to death them that have

deserved it, hang or behead evil doers, after they be by a just process condemned. Thou mayest be pure hearted, and do all the drudge in the world. Lot was pure hearted among the Sodomites. Nicodemus being in the council among them that conspired the death of Christ, was pure hearted, and consented not with them to the death of the innocent.

If the law be written in thine heart it will drive thee to Christ, which is the end of the law to justify all that believe. (Rom. x.) And Christ will shew thee his Father. For no man seeth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will shew him. (John x.) If thou believe in Christ that he is thy Saviour, that faith will lead thee in immediately, and shew thee God with a lovely and amiable countenance, and make thee feel, and see, how that he is thy Father, altogether merciful to thee, and at one with thee, and thou his son and highly in his favour and grace, and sure that thou pleasest him, when thou dost an hundred things which some holy people would suppose themselves defiled, if they should but think on them. And to see God is the blessing of a pure heart.

The end of the law is to justify all that believe.

Impure and unclean hearted, then, are all they that study to break God's commandments. Impure hearted are all that believe not in Christ to be justified by him. Impure hearted are all hypocrites that do their work for a false purpose, either for praise, profit, or to be justified thereby; which painted sepulchres (as Christ calleth them) can never see God, or be sure that they be in the state of grace, and that their works be accepted because they have not God's word with them, but clean against them.

Impure hearted, who are.

Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.

To inherit this blessing, it is not only required that thou have peace in thyself, and that thou take all to the best, and be not offended lightly and for every small trifle,

Peace-making, what.

and alway ready to forgive, nor sow no discord, nor avenge thine own wrong; but also that thou be fervent and diligent to make peace, and to go between where thou knowest or hearest malice and envy to be, or seest hate or strife to arise between person and person, and that thou leave nothing unsought, to set them at one.

Princes, what they ought to be ere they make war.

And though Christ here speak not of the temporal sword, but teacheth how every man shall live for himself toward his neighbour; yet princes, if they will be God's children, must not only give no cause of war, nor begin any; but also (though he have a just cause) suffer himself to be entreated, if he that gave the cause repent, and must also seek all ways of peace before he fight. Howbeit when all is sought, and nothing will help, then he ought, and is bound, to defend his land and subjects, and in so doing he is a peace-maker, as well as when he causeth thieves and murderers to be punished for their evil doing, and breaking of the common peace of his land and subjects.

When thou mayest assure thyself to be the son and heir of God.

If thou have peace in thyself, and lovest the peace of thy brethren after this manner, so is God through Christ at peace with thee, and thou his beloved son and heir also.

Moreover, if the wrong done thee be greater than thou mayest bear: as when thou art a person not for thyself only; but in respect of other, in whatsoever worldly degree it be, and hast an office committed thee; then (when thou hast warned with all good manner him that did it, and none amendment will be had) keep peace in thine heart and love him still, and complain to them that are set to reform such things, and so art thou yet a peace-maker, and still the son of God. But if thou avenge thyself or desirest more than such wrongs be forbidden, thou sinnest against God, in taking the authority of God upon thee without his commandment. God is Father over all, and is (of right) judge over all his children, and to him only pertaineth all avenging. Who therefore

Vengeance pertaineth to God only.

without his commandment avengeth either with heart or hand, the same doth cast himself into the hands of the sword, and loseth the right of his cause.

And on the other side, cursed be the peace-breakers, pick-quarrels, whisperers, backbiters, sowers of discord, dispraisers of them that be good, to bring them out of favour, interpreters to evil, that is done for a good purpose, finders of faults where none is, stirrers up of princes to battle and war; and above all, cursed be they that falsely belie the true preachers of God's word, to bring them into hate, and to shed their blood wrongfully for hate of the truth: for all such are children of the devil.

Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for their's is the kingdom of heaven. 8.

If the faith of Christ and law of God, (in which two all righteousness is contained,) be written in thine heart; that is, if thou believe in Christ to be justified from sin, or for remission of sin, and consentest in thine heart to the law that is good, holy, and just, and thy duty to do it, and submittest thyself so to do; and thereupon goest forth and testifiest that faith and law of righteousness openly unto the world in word and deed; then will Satan stir up his members against thee, and thou shalt be persecuted on every side. But be of good comfort and faint not. Call to mind the saying of Paul (2 Tim. iii.) How all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution. Remember how all the prophets that went before thee, were so dealt with. (Luke vi.) Remember the ensamples of the apostles, and of Christ himself, and that the disciple is no better than his master, and that Christ admitteth no disciple which not only leaveth not all, but also taketh his cross too. We be not called to a soft living, and to peace in this world; but unto peace of conscience in God our Father, through Jesus Christ, and to war in this world.

In the faith of Christ and law of God, all our righteousness is contained.

Peace. The peace of Christ is a peace of conscience.

Moreover comfort thyself with the hope of the blessing

To suffer with Christ in this world, is to be glorified with him in the world to come.

of the inheritance of heaven, there to be glorified with Christ, if thou here suffer with him. For if we be like Christ here in his passions, and bear his image in soul and body, and fight manfully that Satan blot it not out, and suffer with Christ for bearing record to righteousness; then shall we be like him in glory. St. John saith in the third Chapter of his Epistle, Yet appeareth not what we shall be, but we know that when he appeareth, we shall be like him. And Paul, (Phil. iii.) Our conversation is in heaven, whence we look for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, which shall change our vile bodies, and make them like his glorious body.

It is an happy thing to suffer for righteousness' sake, but not for unrighteousness. For what praise is it (saith Peter in the second of his first Epistle) though ye suffer, when ye be buffetted for your offences? Wherefore in the fourth of the same he saith, See that none of you suffer as a murderer, or a thief, or an evil doer, or a busy body in other men's matters. Such suffering glorifieth not God, nor art thou thereby heir of heaven. Beware therefore that thou deserve not that thou sufferest. But if thou do, then beware much more of them that would bear thee in hand, how that such suffering should be satisfaction of thy sins, and a deserving of heaven. No, suffering for righteousness (though heaven be promised thereto) yet doth it not deserve heaven, nor yet make satisfaction for the fore sins: Christ doth both twain. But and if thou repent and believe in Christ for the remission of sin, and then confess, not only before God, but also openly before all that see thee suffer, how that thou hast deserved that thou sufferest, for breaking the good and righteous law of thy Father, and then takest thy punishment patiently, as an wholesome medicine to heal thy flesh that it sin no more, and to fear thy brethren that they fall not into like offence, as Moses teacheth every where; then, as thy patience in suffering is pleasant in the sight of thy brethren which behold thee, pity thee, and suffer with thee in their hearts,

Pain.

No bodily pain can be a satisfaction to God, save Christ's passion.

even so is it in the sight of God, and it is to thee a sure token that thou hast true faith, and true repentance.

And as they be blessed which suffer for righteousness, even so are they accursed which run away and let it be trodden under the feet, and will not suffer for the faith of their Lord, and law of their father, nor stand by their neighbours in their just causes.

Blessed are ye, when they revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil sayings against you for my sake, and yet lie. Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven. Even so verily they persecuted the prophets that were before you. 9.

Here seest thou the uttermost what a Christian man must look for. It is not enough to suffer for righteousness; but that no bitterness or poison be left out of thy cup, thou shalt be reviled and railed upon; and even when thou art condemned to death, then be excommunicate and delivered to Satan, deprived of the fellowship of holy church, the company of the angels, and of thy part in Christ's blood; and shalt be cursed down to hell, defied, detested, and execrate with all the blasphemous railings that the poisonful heart of hypocrites can think or imagine; and shalt see before thy face when thou goest to thy death, that all the world is persuaded and brought in belief, that thou hast said and done that thou never thoughtest, and that thou diest for that thou art as guiltless of, as the child that is unborn. What the most cruel persecution is.

Well, though iniquity so highly prevail, and the truth, for which thou diest, be so low kept under, and be not once known before the world, insomuch that it seemeth rather to be hindered by thy death than furthered, (which is of all griefs the greatest) yet let not thine heart fail thee, neither despair, as though God had forsaken thee, or loved thee not. But comfort thyself with old ensamples, how God hath suffered all his old friends to be so entreated,

Set the example of Christ before thee.

and also his only and dear Son Jesus. Whose ensample, above all other, set before thine eyes, because thou art sure he was beloved above all other, that thou doubt not but thou art beloved also, and so much the more beloved, the more thou art like to the image of his ensample in suffering.

Did not the hypocrites watch him in all his sermons, to trap him in his own words? was he not subtilly apposed whether it were lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar? Were not all his words wrong reported? Were not his miracles ascribed to Beelzebub? Said they not he was a Samaritan, and had a devil in him? Was he not called a breaker of the Sabbath, a wine drinker, a friend of publicans and sinners? Did he aught wherewith no fault was found, and that was not interpreted to be done for an evil purpose? Was not the pretence of his death the destroying of the temple, to bring him into the hate of all men? Was he not thereto accused of treason, that he forbad to pay tribute to Cæsar, and that he moved the people to insurrection? Railed they not on him in the bitterest of all his passion, as he hanged on the cross, saying, Save thyself thou that savest other, come down from the cross, and we will believe in thee; fie, wretch, that destroyest the temple of God.

Yet he was beloved of God, and so art thou. His cause came to light also, and so shall thine at the last; yea, and thy reward is great in heaven with him, for thy deep suffering.

Cursed.

And on the other side as they be cursed which leave righteousness destitute and will not suffer therewith; so

Most accursed, who?

are they most accursed which know the truth, and yet not only flee therefrom because they will not suffer, but also for lucre become the most cruel enemies thereof, and most subtle persecutors and most falsely lie thereon also.

Works justify not.

Finally, though God when he promiseth to bless our works, do bind us to work if we will obtain the blessing or promise; yet must we beware of this pharisaical pes-

tilence, to think that our works did deserve the promises. For whatsoever God commandeth us to do, that is our duty to do, though there were no such promise made to us at all. The promise therefore cometh not of the deserving of the worker (as though God had need of ought that we could do) but of the pure mercy of God, to make us the more willing to do that is our duty, &c. For if when we had done all that God commandeth us to do, he then gave us up into the hands of tyrants, and killed us, and sent us to purgatory (which men so greatly fear) or to hell, and all the angels of heaven with us, he did us no wrong, nor were unrighteous, for aught that we or they could challenge of deserving: howsoever that God useth his creatures, he ever abideth righteous, till thou canst prove that after he hath bound himself with his own word of mercy, he then breaks promise with them that keep covenant with him. So now, if nought were promised, nought could we challenge, whatsoever we did. And therefore the promise cometh of the goodness of the Promiser only, and not of the deserving of those works, of which God hath no need, and which were no less our duty to do, though there were no such promise.

Not the worker, but the pure mercy of God is cause of the promise made unto.

Ye be the salt of the earth: but if the salt be waxen unsavoury, what can be salted therewith? It is henceforth nothing worth; but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men. 10.

The office of an apostle and true preacher is to salt, not only the corrupt manners and conversation of earthly people, but also the rotten heart within, and all that springeth out thereof; their natural reason, their will, their understanding and wisdom; yea, and their faith and belief, and all that they have imagined without God's word, concerning righteousness, justifying, satisfaction and serving of God. And the nature of salt is to bite, fret, and make smart. And the sick patients of the world, are marvellous impa-

The office of a true preacher.

It is a jeopardous thing to salt hypocrisy.

tient, so that though with great pain they can suffer their gross sins to be rebuked under a fashion, as in a parable afar off; yet, to have their righteousness, their holiness, and serving of God and his saints, disallowed, improved, and condemned for damnable and devilish, that may they not abide. Insomuch that thou must leave thy salting or else be prepared to suffer again: even to be called a railer, seditious, a maker of discord, and a troubler of the common peace; yea a schismatic, and an heretic also; and to be lied upon, that thou hast done and said that thou never thoughtest, and then to be called *coram nobis*, and to sing a new song, and foreswear salting, or else to be sent after thy fellows that are gone before, and the way thy Master went.

Salt.

Who is meet to salt.

True preaching is a salting that stirreth up persecution, and an office that no man is meet for, save he that is seasoned himself before with poverty in spirit, softness, meekness, patience, mercifulness, pureness of heart, and hunger of righteousness, and looking for persecution also: and hath all his hope, comfort, and solace, in the blessing only, and in no worldly thing.

A true preacher of God's word must use no partiality for fear of persecution.

Nay will some say, a man might preach long enough without persecution, yea, and get favour too, if he would not meddle with the pope, bishops, prelates, and holy ghostly people that live in contemplation and solitariness, nor with great men of the world. I answer, true preaching is salting, and all that is corrupt must be salted. And those persons are of all other most corrupt, and therefore may not be left untouched.

The pope's pardons must be rebuked, the abuse of the mass, of the sacraments, and of all the ceremonies must be rebuked and salted. And selling of merits and of prayers must be salted. The abuse of fasting, and of pilgrimage must be salted. All idolatry and false faith must be rebuked. And those friars that teach men to believe in St. Francis' coat, how that they shall never come in hell or

purgatory, if they be buried therein, may not be passed over with silence.

The pain and grief of salting made monks flee to their cloister. Nay, (say they) we went thither of pure devotion to pray for the people. Yea, but for all that, the more ye encrease, and the more ye multiply your prayers, the worse the world is. That is not our fault (say they) but theirs, that they dispose not themselves, but continue in sin, and so are unapt to receive the influence of our prayers. O! hypocrites, if ye were true salt and had good hearts, and loved your neighbours (if dead men be neighbours to them that are alive) and would come out of your dens and take pain to salt and season them, ye should make a great many of them so apt, that your prayers might take effect. But now seeing as ye say, they be so unsavoury that your prayers be to them unprofitable, though their goods be to you profitable, and ye have no compassion to come out and salt them, it is manifest that ye love not them, but theirs; and that ye pray not for them, but under the colour of praying, mock them and rob them.

Monks why they run to cloisters.

Finally, salt which is the true understanding of the law, of faith, and of the intent of all works, hath in you lost her virtue, neither be there any so unsavoury in the world as ye are, nor any that so sore kick against true salting as ye: and therefore are ye to be cast out and trodden under foot and despised of all men, by the righteous judgment of God.

By salt is understood the true understanding of the law, as of faith, of works &c.

If salt have lost his saltness, it is good for nothing but to be trodden under foot of men. That is, if the preacher, which for his doctrine is called salt, have lost the nature of salt, that is to say, his sharpness in rebuking all unrighteousness, all natural reason, natural wit and understanding; and all trust and confidence in whatsoever it be, save in the blood of Christ; he is condemned of God, and disallowed of all them that cleave to the truth. In what case stand they then that have benefices and preach not? verily though they stand at the altar, yet

Spirituality: why they be despised.

are they excommunicate and cast out of the living church of almighty God.

Ceremonies must be salted.

And what if the doctrine be not true salt? verily then is it to be trodden under foot. As must all wearish and unsavoury ceremonies which have lost their significations, and not only teach not, and are become unprofitable and do no more service to man; but also have obtained authority as God in the heart of man, that man serveth them, and putteth in them the trust and confidence that he should put in God his maker through Jesus Christ his Redeemer. Are the institutions of man better than God's? yea, are God's ordinances better now than in the old time? The prophets trod under foot, and defied the temple of God, and the sacrifices of God, and all ceremonies that God had ordained, with fastings and prayings, and all that the people perverted and committed idolatry with. We have as straight a commandment to salt and rebuke all ungodliness as had the prophets. Will they then have their ceremonies honourably spoken of? then let them restore them to the right use, and put the salt of the true meaning and significations of them to them again. But as they be now used, none that loveth Christ can speak honourably of them. What true christian man can give honour to them that taketh all honour from Christ? who can give honour to that that slayeth the soul of his brother, and robbeth his heart of that trust and confidence which he should give to his Lord that hath bought him with his blood?

Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, and so giveth it light to all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and praise your Father that is in heaven.

Christ goeth forth and describeth the office of an apostle and true preacher by another likeness; calling them

as before, the salt of the earth. Even so here the light of the world: signifying thereby that all the doctrine, all the wisdom, and high knowledge of the world; whether it were philosophy of natural conclusions, of manners and virtue, or of laws of righteousness; whether it were of the holy Scripture and of God himself, was yet but a darkness, until the doctrine of his apostles came: that is to say, until the knowledge of Christ came, how that he is the sacrifice for our sins, our satisfaction, our peace, atonement and redemption, our life thereto and resurrection. Whatsoever holiness, wisdom, virtue, perfectness or righteousness, is in the world among men, howsoever perfect and holy they appear, yet is all damnable darkness, except the right knowledge of Christ's blood be there first, to justify the heart before all other holiness.

Darkness.

All knowledge is darkness, till the knowledge of Christ's blood-shedding be in the heart.

Another conclusion: As a city built on a hill cannot be hid, no more can the light of Christ's gospel. Let the world rage as much as it will, yet it will shine on their sore eyes whether they be content or no.

Another conclusion: As men light not a candle to whelm it under a bushel, but to put it on a candlestick to light all that are in the house: even so the light of Christ's gospel may not be hid nor made a several thing, as though it pertained to some certain holy persons only. Nay, it is the light of the whole world, and pertaineth to all men, and therefore may not be made several. It is a madness that divers men say, the lay people may not know it: except they can prove that the lay people be not of the world. Moreover it will not be hid, but as the lightning, that breaketh out of the clouds, shineth over all, even so doth the gospel of Christ. For where it is truly received, there it purifieth the heart, and maketh the person to consent to the laws of God, and to begin a new and a godly living, fashioned after God's laws, and without all dissimulation. And then it will kindle so great love in him toward his neighbour, that he shall not only have compassion on him in his bodily adversity, but much

Lay.

The lay ought to have the gospel.

Gospel.

The property of the gospel.

Gospel. The true gospel is not hid in dens.

more pity him over the blindness of his soul, and to minister to him Christ's gospel. Wherefore if they say, It is here or there, in St. Francis' coat, or Dominick's and such like, and if thou wilt put on that coat, thou shalt find it there, it is false. For if it were there, thou shouldest see it shine abroad, though thou creepest not into a cell or a monk's cowl, as thou seest the lightning without creeping into the clouds; yea, their light would so shine that men should not only see the light of the gospel, but also their good works, which would as fast come out as they now run in. Insomuch that thou shouldest see them make themselves poor, to help other as they now make other poor to make themselves rich.

If the spitualty were a light as they ought to be, they would make themselves poor to make other rich; but they make other poor and themselves rich.

Kings ought to be learned.

This light and salt pertained not then to the apostles, and now to our bishops and spiritualty only. No, it pertaineth to the temporal men also. For all kings and all rulers are bound to be salt and light, not only in ensample of living, but also in teaching of doctrine unto their subjects, as well as they be bound to punish evil doers. Doth not the Scripture testify that king David was chosen to be a shepherd and to feed his people with God's word? It is an evil schoolmaster that cannot but beat only. But it is a good schoolmaster that so teacheth, that few need to be beaten. This salt and light therefore pertain to the temporalty also, and that to every member of Christ's church: so that every man ought to be salt and light to other.

The order how every man may be a preacher, and how not.

Every man then may be a common preacher, thou wilt say, and preach every where by his own authority. Nay, verily: no man may yet be a common preacher save he that is called and chosen thereto by the common ordinance of the congregation, as long as the preacher teacheth the true word of God. But every private man ought to be in virtuous living, both light and salt to his neighbour: insomuch that the poorest ought to strive to overrun the bishop, and preach to him in ensample of living. Moreover every man ought to preach in word and deed

unto his household, and to them that are under his governance, &c. And though no man may preach openly save he that hath the office committed unto him, yet ought every man to endeavour himself, to be as well learned as the preacher, as nigh as it is possible. And every man may privately inform his neighbour, yea, and the preacher and bishop too, if need be. For if the preacher preach wrong, then may any man, whatsoever he be, rebuke him, first privately, and then (if that help not) to complain farther. And when all is proved, according to the order of charity, and yet none amendment had; then ought every man that can to resist him, and to stand by Christ's doctrine, and to jeopardy life, and all for it. Look on the old ensamples and they shall teach thee.

None ought to preach openly, but such as are admitted by the ordinance of the congregation.

The gospel hath another freedom with her than the temporal regiment. Though every man's body and goods be under the king, do he right or wrong, yet is the authority of God's word free and above the king: so that the worst in the realm may tell the king, if he do him wrong, that he doth nought and otherwise than God hath commanded him, and so warn him to avoid the wrath of God, which is the patient avenger of all unrighteousness. May I then, and ought also, to resist father and mother and all temporal power with God's word, when they wrongfully do or command that hurteth or killeth the body; and have I no power to resist the bishop or preacher, that with false doctrine slayeth the souls, for which my master and Lord Christ hath shed his blood. Be we otherwise under our bishops than Christ and his apostles, and all the other prophets were under the bishops of the old law? Nay verily: and therefore may we and also ought to do as they did, and to answer as the apostles did. (Acts v.) *Oportet magis obedire deo quàm hominibus.* We must rather obey God than men. In the gospel every man is Christ's disciple, and a person for himself, to defend Christ's doctrine in his own person. The faith of the bishop will not help me, nor the bishop's

Spiritual and temporal regiment do differ.

Every man must defend Christ's doctrine in his own person.

keeping the law is sufficient for me. But I must believe in Christ for the remission of all sin, for mine ownself, and in mine own person. No more is the bishop's or preacher's defending God's word enough for me. But I must defend it in mine own person, and jeopardy life and all thereon when I see need and occasion.

I am bound to get worldly substance for myself and for mine household with my just labour, and somewhat more for them that cannot, to save my neighbour's body. And am I not more bound to labour for God's word to have thereof in store, to save my neighbour's soul? And when is it so much time to resist with God's word and to help, as when they which are believed to minister the true word, do slay the soul with false doctrine, for covetousness' sake? He that is not ready to give his life for the maintainance of Christ's doctrine against hypocrites, with whatsoever name or title they be disguised, the same is not worthy of Christ, nor can be Christ's disciple, by the very words and testimony of Christ. Nevertheless we must use wisdom, patience, meekness, and a discreet process, after the due order of charity, in our defending the word of God, least, while we go about to amend our prelates, we make them worse. But when we have proved all that charity bindeth us, and yet in vain; then we must come forth openly, and rebuke their wickedness in the face of the world, and jeopardy life, and all thereon.

Whoso refuseth to die for Christ's sake, cannot be the disciple of Christ.

Ye shall not think that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: no, I am not come to destroy them, but to fulfil them. For truly I say unto you, till heaven and earth perish, there shall not one jot or one tittle of the law scape, till all be fulfilled.

A little before Christ calleth his disciples the light of the world, and the salt of the earth, and that because of their doctrine, wherewith they should lighten the blind understanding of man, and with true knowledge drive out

the false opinions and sophistical persuasions of natural reason, and deliver the Scripture out of the captivity of false glosses: which the hypocritish pharisees had patched thereto: and so out of the light of true knowledge, to stir up a new living, and to salt and season the corrupt manners of the old blind conversation. For where false doctrine, corrupt opinions, and sophistical glosses, reign in the wit and understanding, there is the living devilish in the sight of God, howsoever it appear in the sight of the blind world. And on the other side, where the doctrine is true and perfect, there followeth godly living of necessity. For out of the inward belief of the heart, floweth the outward conversation of the members. He that believeth that he ought to love his enemy, shall never cease fighting against his ownself, till he have weeded all rancour and malice out of his heart. But he that believeth it not, shall put a visor of hypocrisy on his face, till he get opportunity to avenge himself.

False doctrine causeth evil works.

True doctrine is cause of good works.

And here he beginneth to teach them to be that light, and that salt of which he spake, and saith: Though the scribes and pharisees bear the people in hand, that all I do is of the devil, and accuse me of breaking the law and the prophets (as they afterward railed on the apostles, that they drave the people from good works, through preaching the justifying and righteousness of faith) yet see that ye, my disciples, be not of that belief. For heaven and earth shall sooner perish, than one jot or tittle of the law should be put out. I come not to destroy the law, but to repair it only, and to make it go upright where it halteth: and even to make crooked straight, and rough smooth, as John the baptist doth in the wilderness, and to teach the true understanding of the law. Without me the law cannot be fulfilled, nor ever could. For though the law were given by Moses, yet grace and verity, that is to say, the true understanding and power to love it and of love to fulfil it, cometh and ever came through faith in me.

Grace and truth through Jesus Christ

I do but only wipe away the filthy and rotten glosses wherewith the scribes and the pharisees have smeared the law, and the prophets, and rebuked their damnable living; which they have fashioned, not after the law of God, but after their own sophistical glosses feigned to mock out the law of God, and to beguile the whole world, and to lead them in blindness. And that the scribes and pharisees falsely bely me how that I go about to destroy the law, and to set the people at a fleshly liberty, and to make them first disobedient, and to despise their spiritual prelates, and then to rise against the temporal rulers, and to make all common, and to give licence to sin unpunished, cometh only of pure malice, hate, envy, and furious impatiency, that their virtues are plucked from their faces, and their hypocrisy discovered. Howbeit what I teach and what my learning is concerning the law, ye shall shortly hear, and that in few words.

Whosoever breaketh one of these least commandments and teach men so, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven. But he that doth them and teacheth them, the same shall be great in the kingdom of heaven.

Whosoever studieth to destroy one of the commandments following, which are yet the least and but childish things in respect of the perfect doctrine that shall hereafter be shewed, and of the mysteries yet hid in Christ; and teach other men even so, in word or ensample, whether openly or under a colour, and through false glosses of hypocrisy; that same doctor shall all they of the kingdom of heaven abhor and despise, and cast him out of their company, as a seething pot doth cast up her foam and scum and purge herself. So fast shall they of the kingdom of heaven cleave unto the pure law of God without all men's glosses.

Glosses.

They that destroy the law of God with glosses must be cast out.

But whosoever shall first fulfil them himself, and then teach other, and set all his study to the furtherance and

maintaining of them, that doctor shall all they of the kingdom of heavēn have in price, and follow him and seek him out, as doth an eagle her prey, and cleave to him as burrs. For these commandments are but the very law of Moses, (the draff of the pharisees' glosses cleansed out) interpreted according to the pure word of God, and as the open text compelleth to understand them, if ye look diligently thereon.

The kingdom of heaven take for the congregation or church of Christ. And to be of the kingdom of heaven, is to know God for our Father, and Christ for our Lord and and Saviour from all sin. And to enter into this kingdom it is impossible, except the heart of men be to keep the commandments of God purely, as it is written, (John vii.) If any man will obey his will, that is to say, the will of the Father that sent me (saith Christ) he shall know of the doctrine; whether it be of God, or whether I speak of mine own head. For if thine heart be to do the will of God, which is his commandments; he will give thee a pure eye, both to discern the true doctrine from the false, and the true doctor from the howling hypocrite. And therefore he saith,

The church.

Law.

Except a man love God's law, he cannot understand the doctrine of Christ.

For I say unto you, except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.

The righteousness of pharisees.

The righteousness of the scribes and pharisees cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. The kingdom of heaven is the true knowledge of God and Christ: ergo, the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees neither knoweth God nor Christ. He that is willing to obey the will of God understandeth the doctrine of Christ, as it is proved above: the scribes and the pharisees understand not the doctrine of Christ: ergo, they have no will nor lust to obey the will of God. To obey the will of God is to seek the glory of God (for the glory of a

master is the meek obedience of his servants; the glory of a prince is the humble obedience of his subjects; the glory of an husband is the chaste obedience of his wife; the glory of a father is the loving obedience of his children) the scribes and the pharisees have no lust to obey the will of God: ergo, they seek not the glory of God. Furthermore the scribes and the pharisees seek their own glory: they that seek their own glory preach their own doctrine: ergo, the scribes and the pharisees preach their own doctrine. The major thou hast Matt. xxiv., the scribes and pharisees do all their works to be seen of men: they love to sit uppermost at feasts, and to have the chief seats in the synagogues, and salutations in the open markets, and to be called Rabbi. And the minor followeth the text above rehearsed, (John vii.) he that speaketh of himself or of his own head, seeketh his own glory: that is to say, he that preacheth his own doctrine is ever known by seeking his own glory: so that is a general rule to know that a man preacheth his own doctrine, if he seek his own glory.

Glory.

He that seeketh his own glory teacheth his own doctrine, and not his Master's.

Some man will haply say: the scribes and pharisees had no other law than Moses and the prophets, nor any other Scripture; and grounded their sayings thereon. That is truth: how then preached they their own doctrine? verily it followeth in the said seventh of John. He that seeketh the glory of Him that sent him, the same is true and there is no unrighteousness in him: that is to say, he will do his Master's message truly, and not alter it. Where contrariwise he that seeketh his own glory, will be false (when he is sent) and will alter his Master's message, to turn his Master's glory unto his own-self. Even so did the scribes and pharisees alter the word of God for their own profit and glory. And when God's word is altered with false glosses, it is no more God's word. As when God saith, Love thy neighbour, and thou puttest to thy leaven and sayest: If my neighbour do me no hurt, nor say me any, I am bound to love him,

Glory.

He that seeketh his own glory altereth his master's message.

Word.

God's word altered is not his word.

but not to give him at his need my goods which I have gotten with my sore labour. Now this is thy law and not God's. God's law is pure and single, Love thy neighbour whether he be good or bad. And by love, God meaneth to help at need. Now when God biddeth thee to get thy living, and somewhat over to help him that cannot, or at a time hath not wherewith to help himself; if thou and thirty or forty with thee get you to wilderness, and not only help not your neighbours, but also rob a great number of two or three thousand pound yearly, how love ye your neighbours? Such men help the world with prayer, thou wilt say to me. Thou wert better to say, they rob the world with their hypocrisy, say I to thee, and it is truth in deed that they so do. For if I stick up to the middle in the mire like to perish without present help, and thou stand by and wilt not succour me, but kneelest down and prayest, will God hear the prayers of such an hypocrite? God biddeth thee so to love me, that thou put thyself in jeopardy to help me, and that thine heart while thy body laboureth, do pray and trust in God that he will assist thee, and through thee to save me. An hypocrite that will put neither body nor goods in peril for to help me at my need, loveth me not, neither hath compassion on me, and therefore his heart cannot pray, though he wag his lips never so much. It is written (John ix.) If a man be a worshipper of God, and do his will, (which is the true worship) him God heareth. Now the will of God is, that we love one another to help at need. And such lovers he heareth, and not subtle hypocrites. As love maketh thee help me at my need; so when it is past thy power to help, it maketh thee pray to God. Even so where is no love to make thee take bodily pain with me, there is no love that maketh thee pray for me. But thy prayer is indeed for thy belly which thou lovest.

To love is to help at need.

Prayer.

The prayer of monks robbeth, and holpeth not.

Love prayeth.

What were the scribes and pharisees? The scribes besides that they were pharisees (as I suppose) were also officers, as our bishops, chancellors, commissaries, arch-

Scribes and pharisees what they were.

deacons, and officials. And the pharisees were religious men, which had professed, not as now, one Dominick, the other Francis, another Bernard's rules, but even to hold the very law of God, with prayer, fasting, and alms-deeds; and were the flower and perfection of all the Jews: as St. Paul rejoiceth of himself (Phil. iii.) saying, I was an Hebrew, and concerning the law, a pharisee, and concerning the righteousness of the law, I was faultless. They were more honourable than any sect of the monks with us, whether Observant, or Ancre, or whatsoever other be had in price.

The pharisees might better have proved themselves the true church than our spiritualty may.

These might much better have rejoiced to have been the true church, and to have had the Spirit of God, and that they could not have erred, than they whom all the world seeth neither to keep God's laws nor man's, nor yet that devil's law of their own making. For God had made them of the Old Testament as great promises that he would be their God, and that his Spirit and all grace should be with them if they kept his laws, as he hath made to us. Now seeing they kept the uttermost jot of the law in the sight of the world, and were faultless; and seeing thereto that God hath promised neither us nor them aught at all, but upon the profession of keeping his laws; whether were more like to be the right church, and to be taught of the Spirit of God that they could not err, those pharisees or ours? Might not the general councils of those, and the things there decreed without Scripture, seem to be of as great authority as the general councils of ours, and the things there ordained and decreed both clean without, and also against God's word? Might not the ceremonies which those had added to the ceremonies of Moses, seem to be as holy and as well to please God, as the ceremonies of ours? The things which they added to the ceremonies of Moses were of the same kind as those ceremonies were, and no more to be rebuked than the ceremonies of Moses. As for an ensample, if Moses had washed a table or dish, when an unclean worm had crept thereon, the

The promises are made upon the profession of the keeping of the law of God, so that the church that will not keep God's law, hath no promise that they cannot err.

pharisees did wash the table with a wet clout before every refection, least any unclean thing had touched them unwares to all men, as we put unto our tithes a mortuary for all forgotten tithes. What was then the wickedness of the pharisees? Verily the leaven of their glosses to the moral laws, by which they corrupted the commandments, and made them no more God's; and their false faith in the ceremonies that the bare work was a sacrifice and a service to God, the significations lost; and the opinion of false righteousness in their prayers, fastings, and alms-deeds, that such works did justify a man before God, and not that God forgiveth sin of his mere mercy, if a man believe, repent, and promise to do his uttermost to sin no more.

The wickedness of the pharisees what it was.

When these thus sat in the hearts of the people, with the opinion of virtue, holiness, and righteousness, and their law the law of God; their works, works commanded by God, and confirmed by all his prophets, as prayer, fasting, and alms-deeds, and they looked upon as the church of God that could not err; and finally, they themselves either every where were the chief rulers, or so sat in the hearts of the rulers, that their word was believed to be the word of God. What other thing could it be, to preach against all such, and to condemn their righteousness for the most damnable sin that can be, than to seem to go about to destroy the law and the prophets? What other thing can such a preacher seem to be before the blind world, than an heretic, schismatic, seditious, possessed with the devil, and worthy of shame most vile, and death most cruel; and yet these must be first rebuked, and their false righteousness detected, ere thou mayest preach against open sinners.

Preacher.

Why the true preacher is accused of treason and heresy.

Hypocrisy.

Why hypocrisy must be first rebuked, though it be jeopardy to preach against it.

Or else if thou shouldest convert an open sinner from his evil living, thou shouldest make him nine hundred times worse than before. For he would at once be one of these sort, even an Observant, or of some like sect, of which, among an hundred thousand, thou shalt never bring one to believe in Christ. Where among open sinners many be

lieve at the hour of death, fall flat upon Christ, and believe in him only, without all other righteousness. It were an hundred thousand times better never to pray, than to pray such lip prayers; and never to fast or do alms, than to fast, and to do alms with a mind thereby to be made righteous, and to make satisfaction for the fore sins.

Ye have heard how that it was said to them of old time, Kill not, for whosoever killeth shall be in danger of judgment. But I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his brother shall be in danger of judgment. And whosoever saith unto his brother Racha, shall be in danger of a council. But whosoever saith to his brother, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.

The law is restored.

Here Christ beginneth, not to destroy the law (as the pharisees had falsely accused him) but to restore it again to the right understanding, and to purge it from the glosses of the pharisees. He that slayeth shall be guilty, or in danger of judgment; that is to say, if a man murder, his deed testifieth against him; there is no more to do than to pronounce sentence of death against him. This text did the pharisees extend no farther than to kill with the hand and outward members. But hate, envy, malice, churlishness, and to withdraw help at need, to beguile and circumvent with wiles and subtle bargaining, was no sin at all. No, to bring him whom thou hatest to death with craft and falsehood, so thou diddest not put thine hand thereto, was no sin at all. As when they had brought Christ to death wrongfully, and compelled Pilate with subtilty to slay him, they thought themselves pure; insomuch that they would not go into the hall for defiling themselves, and being partakers with Pilate in his blood. And (Acts v.) they said to the apostles: Ye would bring this man's blood upon us: as who would say we slew him not. And Saul (in the first book of the Kings in the eighteenth chapter,) being so wrath with David that he would gladly have

The pharisees did extend their doings or acts, to the outward show or deed, and nothing to the heart.

had him slain, determined yet that he would not defile himself, but to thrust him into the hands of the Philistines that they might slay him, and he himself abide pure.

And as our spiritualty now offer a man mercy once, though he have spoken against holy church, only if he will but perjure and bear a fagot. But if he will not, they do but diet him a season, to win him and make him tell more, and deliver him to the lay power saying: he hath deserved death by our laws, and ye ought to kill him, howbeit we desire it not.

But Christ restoreth the law again, and saith, to be angry with thy neighbour, is to slay him, and to deserve death. For the law goeth as well on the heart as on the hand. He that hateth his brother is a murderer. (1 John iii.) If then the blind hand deserve death, how much more those parties which have the sight of reason? And he that saith Racha, lewd or whatsoever sign of wrath it be, or that provoketh to wrath, hath not only deserved that men should immediately pronounce sentence of death upon him, but also that when death is pronounced, they should gather a council, to decree what horrible death he should suffer. And he that calleth his brother fool, hath sinned down to hell.

The law of God goeth as well on the heart as the hand.

Racha.

Shall then a man not be angry at all, nor rebuke or punish? yes, if thou be a father or a mother, master or mistress, husband, lord, or ruler: yet with love and mercy, that the anger, rebuke, or punishment, exceed not the fault or trespass. May a man be angry with love? yea, mothers can be so with their children. It is a loving anger that hateth only the vice, and studieth to mend the person. But here is forbidden not only wrath against father, mother, and all that have governance over thee, which is to be angry and to grudge againt God himself, and that the ruler shall not be wrath without a cause against the subject. But also all private wrath against thy neighbour over whom thou hast no rule, nor he over thee, no, though he do thee wrong. For he that doth wrong,

How a man may be angry with out sinning.

lacketh wit and discretion, and cannot amend till he be informed and taught lovingly. Therefore thou must refrain thy wrath, and tell him his fault lovingly, and with kindness win him to thy Father; for he is thy brother, as well made and as dear bought as thou, and as well beloved, though he be yet childish and lack discretion.

Love is the keeping of the law.

But some will say, I will not hate my neighbour nor yet love him or do him good: yes, thou must love him: for the first commandment, out of which all other flow, is, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy might. That is, thou must keep all his commandments with love. Love must keep thee from killing or hurting thy neighbour, and from coveting in thine heart whatsoever is his. And (1 John iv.) This commandment have we of him, that he which loveth God, love his brother also. And again, (1 John iii.) he that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother have necessity, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how is the love of God in him? He then that helpeth not at need loveth not God, but breaketh the first commandment. Let us love therefore saith St. John, not with word and tongue, but in deed and truth. And again St. John saith in the said place, he that loveth not his brother abideth yet still in death. And of love hath Moses texts enough. But the pharisees glossed them out, saying, they were but good counsels if a man desired to be perfect, but not precepts. (Exod. xxiii.) If thou meet thine enemy's ox or ass going astray, thou shalt in any wise bring them to him again. And if thou see thine enemy's ass fall down under his burden, thou shalt help him up again. And (Levit. xix.) Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart, but shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, that thou bear no sin for his sake. For if thou study not to amend thy neighbour when he sinneth, so art thou partaker of his sins. And therefore when God taketh vengeance and sendeth whatsoever plague it be, to punish open sinners, thou must perish with them. For thou

Sinners.

He that helpeth not to amend sinners, must suffer with them when they be punished.

diddest sin in the sight of God as deep as they, because thou diddest not love the law of God, to maintain it with all thine heart, soul, power, and might. Is not he that seeth his neighbour's house in jeopardy to be set on fire, and warneth not, nor helpeth in time, to avoid the peril, worthy (if his neighbour's house be burnt up) that his be burnt also; seeing it was in his power to have kept all out of jeopardy, if he had would; as he would no doubt if he had loved his neighhour? Even so when God sendeth a general pestilence or war to thy city, to punish the sin thereof; art thou not worthy that thine house should be infected or perish, if thou mightest have kept it from sinning, and thou hadst been willing thereto? But if thou do thy best to further the law of God, and to keep thy land or neighbours from sinning against God, then (though it help not) thou shalt bear no sin for their sakes when they be punished. He therefore that loveth the law of God, may be bold in time of pestilence and all jeopardy to believe in God. And again in the same place, Thou shalt not avenge thyself, nor bear hate in mind against the children of thy people: but shalt love thy fellow as thyself. I am the Lord. As who should say, For my sake shalt thou do it. And (Deut. x.) The Lord your God, is the God of gods and Lord of lords, a great God, mighty and terrible, which regardeth no man's person or degree, nor taketh gifts: but doth right to the fatherless and the widow, and loveth the stranger, to give him raiment and food, love therefore the stranger, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. And (Levit. xix) If a stranger sojourn by thee, in your land, see that ye vex him not. But let the stranger, that dwelleth among you, be as one of yourselves, and love him as thyself: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. I am the Lord. As who should say, Love him for my sake.

In doing our best to further our neighbour in virtue, (although we prevail not) we are excused.

Notwithstanding, when thy neighbour hath shewed thee more unkindness than God hath love, then mayest thou

Hate. When a man may hate his neighbour.

hate him, and not before. But must love him for God's sake, till he fight against God to destroy the name and glory of God.

Therefore when thou offerest thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go first and reconcile thyself unto thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. Agree with thine adversary at once while thou art in the way with him, least thine adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the minister, and thou be cast into prison. Verily, I say unto thee, thou shalt not come out thence, till thou have paid the uttermost farthing.

This text with the similitude is somewhat subtle, and bindeth both him that hath offended to reconcile himself as much as in him is, and him that is offended to forgive and be at one. The offerings were signs, and did certify a man that God was at one with him, and was his friend and loved him. For the fat of beasts was offered and wine thereto, as though God had sat and eaten and drunk with them; and the rest they and their households did eat before God, as though they had ate and drunk with God, and were commanded to be merry and to make good cheer, fully certified that God was at one with them, and had forgot all old offences, and now loved them, that he would fulfil all his promises of mercy with them.

Offerings or sacrifices what they meant.

Now will God receive no sacrifice: that is to wete, neither forgive nor fulfil any of his promises, except we be first reconciled unto our brethren, whether we have offended or be offended. In the chapter following thou readest, If ye forgive, you father shall forgive you. And (Hosea vi.) I love mercy and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than I do burnt offerings: that is to say, the knowledge of the appointments made between God and us; what he will have us to do first, and then what

he will do for us again. And (Isaiah lviii.) God refuseth fasting and punishing of the body that was coupled with cruelty, and saith that he desired no such fast. But saith, This fast require I, that ye be merciful and forgive, and clothe the naked, and feed the hungry, &c. Then call, (saith he) and the Lord shall answer: cry, and he shall say: See, here I am.

The fast that God requireth.

And that similitude will, that as a man here, if he will no otherwise agree, must suffer the extremity of the law, if he be brought before a judge, (for the judge hath no power to forgive or to remit, but to condemn him in the uttermost of the law) even so, if we will not forgive one another here, we shall have judgment of God, without all mercy.

And that some make purgatory of the last farthing, they shew their deep ignorance. For first no similitude holdeth every word and syllable of the similitude. Furthermore, when they dispute, till he pay the last farthing, ergo, he shall pay. But not in hell, ergo, in purgatory. A wise reason: Joseph knew not Mary till she had borne her first son, ergo, she bare the second or he knew her after. I will not forgive thee till I be dead or while I live, ergo, I will do it after my death: and a thousand like.

Last farthing.

Ye have heard how it was said to them of old time, Commit not adultery. But I say to you, that whosoever looketh on a wife, lusting after her, hath committed advoutry with her already in his heart.

This commandment, Commit none adultery, had the pharisees blinded and corrupt with their sophistry and leaven, interpreting the concupiscence of the heart, lewd toys, filthy gestures, unclean words, clipping, kissing, and so forth, not to be imputed for sin, but even the act and deed alone; though Moses say in the text, Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, &c. But Christ putteth to

How corruptly the pharisees did attribute all evil to the deed only.

light and salt, and bringeth the precept to his true understanding and natural cast again, and condemneth the root of sin, the concupiscence and consent of the heart. Before the world I am no murderer till I have killed with mine hand. But before God I kill, if I hate; yea, if I love not, and of love keep me both from doing hurt, and also be ready and prepared to help at need. Even so the consent of the heart with all other means that follow thereof, be as well advoutry before God, as the deed itself.

Finally I am an advouterer before God, if I so love not my neighbour, that very love forbid me to covet his wife. Love is the fulfilling of all commandments. And without love it is impossible to abstain from sinning against my neighbour in any precept, if occasion be given.

Love is the fulfilling of the law.

Carnal love will not suffer a mother to rob her child, no, it maketh her rob herself to make it rich. A natural father shall never lust after his son's wife; no, he careth more for her chastity than his son doth himself. Even so would love to my neighbour keep me from sinning against him.

Advoutry.

Advoutry is a damnable thing in the sight of God, and much mischief followeth thereof. David to save his honour was driven to commit grievous murder also. It is unright in the sight of God and man that thy child should be at another man's cost, and be another man's heir. Neither canst thou or the mother have lightly a quiet conscience to God, or a merry heart as long as it so is. Moreover what greater shame canst thou do thy neighbour or what greater displeasure! What if it never be known nor come any child thereof! The preciousest gift that a man hath in this world of God, is the true heart of his wife, to abide by him in wealth and woe, and to bear all fortunes with him. Of that hast thou robbed him; for after she hath once coupled herself to thee, she shall not lightly love him any more so truly; but haply hate him and procure his death. Moreover thou hast untaught her to fear God, and hast made her to sin against God.

For to God promised she, and not to man only; for the law of matrimony is God's ordinance. For it is written (Gen. xxxix.) When Potiphar's wife would have Joseph to lie with her, he answered: How could I do this wickedness and sin against God? yea, verily, it is impossible to sin against man, except thou sin against God first. Finally, read Chronicles and stories, and see what hath followed of adultery.

Some doctors have doubted in that, which Christ hath flatly condemned.

What shall we say, that some doctors have disputed and doubted whether single fornication should be sin, when it is condemned both by Christ and Moses too? And Paul testifieth, (1 Cor. vi.) that no fornicator or whoremonger shall possess the kingdom of God. It is right that all men that hope in God, should bring up their fruit in the fear and knowledge of God, and not to leave his seed where he careth not what come thereof.

Wherefore if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is better for thee that one of thy members perish, than that thy whole body should be cast into hell. And even so if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee. For it is better for thee that one of thy members perish, than that thy whole body should be cast into hell.

This is not meant of the outward members. For then we must cut off nose, ears, hand and foot; yea, we must procure to destroy the seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and feeling, and so every man kill himself. But it is a phrase or speech of the Hebrew tongue, and will that we cut off occasions, dancing, kissing, riotous eating and drinking, and the lust of the heart, and filthy imaginations, that move a man to concupiscence. Let every man have his wife, and think her the fairest and the best conditioned, and every woman her husband so too. For God hath blessed thy wife and made her without sin to thee, which ought to seem a beautiful fairness. And all that ye suffer

Filthy.

A wife.

How good a thing.

together the one with the other, is blessed also, and made the very cross of Christ and pleasant in the sight of God. Why should she then be loathsome to thee, because of a little suffering, that thou shouldest lust after another, that should defile thy soul, and slay thy conscience, and make thee suffer everlastingly?

It is said, whosoever putteth away his wife, let him give her a testimonial of the divorcement. But I say unto you, whosoever putteth away his wife (except it be for fornication) maketh her to break wedlock, and whosoever marrieth the divorced, breaketh wedlock.

Moses (Deut. xxiv.) permitted his Israelites in extreme necessity, as when they so hated their wives, that they abhorred the company of them, then to put them away, to avoid a worse inconvenience. Whereof ye read also Matt. xix. And he knit thereto, that they might not receive them again after they had been known of any other persons. Which licence the Jews abused and put away their wives for every light or feigned cause, and whensoever they lusted. But Christ calleth back again, and interpreteth the law after the first ordinance, and cutteth off all causes of divorcement, save fornication of the wife's party, when she breaketh her matrimony. In which case Moses's law pronounceth her dead, and so do the laws of many other countries: which laws, where they be used, there is a man free without all question. Now where they be let live, there the man, (if he see sign of repentance and amendment) may forgive for once. If he may not find in his heart (as Joseph, as holy as he was, could not find in his heart to take Christ's mother to him, when he spied her with child) he is free no doubt to take another, while the law interpreteth her deed: for her sin ought of no right to bind him.

What shall the woman do, if she repent and be so tempted in her flesh that she cannot live chaste? verily I

can shew you nothing out of the Scripture. The office of the preacher is, to preach the ten commandments which are the law natural, and to promise them which submit themselves to keep them of love and fear of God, everlasting life for their labour, through faith in Christ: and to threaten the disobedient with everlasting pain in hell. And his punishment is, if any man have offended through frailty, and when he is rebuked, turn and repent, to receive him unto grace, and absolve him; and if any man will not amend when he is rebuked, to cast him out among the infidels. This I say, if the temporal power shut her up, as a convict person appointing her a sober living, to make satisfaction to the congregation for her damnable example, they did not amiss. It is better that one misdoer suffer, than that a commonwealth be corrupt.

The office of a preacher.

Where the officers be negligent, and the woman not able to put herself to penance, if she went where she is not known, and there marry, God is the God of mercy. If any man in the same place where she trespasseth, pitied her, and married her, I could suffer it: were it not that the liberty would be the next way to provoke all other that were once weary of their husbands, to commit adultery, for to be divorced from them, that they might marry other which they loved better. Let the temporal sword take heed to their charge therefore: for this is truth, all the temporal blessings set in the law of Moses for keeping their laws, as wealth and prosperity, long life, the upperhand of their enemies, plenteousness of fruits, and cheap of all thing, and to be without pestilence, war and famishment, and all manner [of] other abominable diseases and plagues pertain to us as well as to them, if we keep our temporal laws.

Law.

What followeth the keeping of the law.

And all the curses and terrible plagues which are threatened throughout the law of Moses, as hunger, dearth, war and dissention, pestilence, fevers, and wonderful and strange fearful diseases, as the sweat, pocks, and falling sickness, shortening of days, that the sword,

Law.

What followeth the breaking of the law.

hunger, and such diseases shall eat them up in their youth, that their enemies should have the upper hand, that the people of the land should be minished, and the towns decayed, and the land brought to a wilderness, and that a plenteous land should be made barren, or so ordered that dearth should devour the inhabiters, and wealth be among few, that should oppress the rest, with a thousand such like, so that nothing they begin should have a prosperous end: all those curses (I say) pertain to us as well as to them, if we break our temporal laws.

The enormities that hath chanced since the slaughter of King Richard the Second, unto this realm of England.

Let England look about them, and mark what hath chanced them, since they slew their right king whom God had anointed over them, king Richard the Second, their people, towns, and villages are minished by the third part. And of their noble blood remaineth not the third, nor I believe the sixth, yea and if I durst be bold, I wene I might safely swear that there remaineth not the sixteenth part. Their own sword hath eaten them up. And though pastures be enlarged above all measure, yet rot of sheep, murrain of beasts, with parks and warrens, with raising of fines and rent, make all things twice so dear as they were. And our own commodities are so abused, that they be the destruction of our own realm.

Tyrants: why God giveth us up, and leaveth us in the hands of tyrants and in all misery.

And right: for if we will not know God to keep his laws, how should God know us, to keep us, and to care for us, and to fulfil his promises of mercy unto us: saith not Paul, (Rom. i.) of the heathen: *Sicut non probaverunt habere Deum in notitia, ita tradidit illos Deus*, As it seemed them not good, or as they had no lust, or as they admitted it not, nor allowed for right in their hearts to know God as God, to give him the honour of God, that is, to fear him as God, and as avenger of all evil, and to seek his will; even so God gave them up to follow their own blindness, and took his Spirit and his grace from them, and would no longer rule their wits. Even so if we cast off us the yoke of our temporal laws, which are the laws of God, and drawn out of the Ten Command-

ments and law natural, and out of love thy neighbour as thyself; God shall cast us off and let us slip, to follow our own wit. And then shall all go against us, whatsoever we take in hand: insomuch that when we gather a parliament to reform or amend aught, that we there determine shall be our own snare, confusion, and utter destruction, so that all the enemies we have under heaven could not wish us so great mischief as our own counsel shall do us, God shall so blind the wisdom of the wise. If any man have any godly counsel, it shall have none audience: error, madness, and dasing shall have the upper hand.

An admonition.

And let the spiritualty take heed and look well about them, and see whether they walk as they have promised God, and in the steps of his son Christ, and of his apostles, whose offices they bear. For I promise them all the devils in hell, if God had let them loose, could not have given them worse counsel, than they have given themselves this twenty year long. God gave up his Israelites oftentime when they would not be ruled, nor know themselves and their duty to God, and brought them into captivity under their enemies, to prove and feel (saith the text) whether were better service, either to serve God, and willingly to obey his law coupled with so manifold blessings, or to serve their enemies, and to obey their cruelness and tyranny (spite of their heads) in need and necessity. And let the temporalty remember, that because those nations under which the Israelites were in captivity, did deal cruelly with them, not to punish them for their idolatry and sin, which they had committed against God, but to have their lands, and goods, and service only, rejoicing to make them worse and more out of their father's favour; therefore when God had scourged his children enough, he did beat the other for their labour.

What rulers ought to do, touching such as run.

But to our purpose: what if the man run from his wife and leave her desolate? Verily, the rulers ought to make a law, if any do so, and come not again by a certain day, as within the space of a year or so, that then he be

Fly from their wives without just cause.

banished the country; and if he come again, to come on his head, and let the wife be free to marry where she will. For what right is it that a lewd wretch should take his goods, and run from his wife without a cause, and sit by a whore, yea and come again after a year or two (as I have known it) and rob his wife of that she hath gotten in the mean time, and go again to his whore? Paul saith to the Corinthians, that if a man or woman be coupled with an infidel, and the infidel depart, the other is free to marry where they lust. And (1 Tim. v.) he saith, If there be any man that provideth not for his, and namely for them of his own household, the same denieth the faith, and is worse than an infidel. And even so is this man much more to be interpreted for an infidel, that causeless runneth from his wife. Let, I say, the governors take heed how they let sin be unpunished, and how they bring the wrath of God upon their realms. For God will be avenged of all iniquity, and punish it with plagues from heaven.

In like manner, if the woman depart causeless and will not be reconciled, though she commit none adultery, the man ought of right to be free to marry again. And in all other causes, if they separate themselves of impatience that the one cannot suffer the other's infirmities, they must remain unmarried.

If any part burn, let the same suffer the pain or infirmities of the other. And the temporalty ought to make laws to bridle the unruly party.

Again, ye have heard how it was said to them of old time, forswear not thyself, but pay thine oaths unto the Lord. But I say unto you, swear not at all, neither by heaven, for it is the seat of God; neither by the earth, for it is his footstool; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great king; neither shalt thou swear by thine head, for thou canst not make a white hair or a black. But your communication shall be, Yea, yea, nay, nay. For if aught be above that, it proceedeth of evil.

As to hate in the heart, or to covet another man's wife, was no sin with the pharisees; no more was it to hide one thing in the heart, and to speak another with the mouth, to deceive a man's neighbour, if it were not bound with an oath. And though Moses say (Levit. xix.) Lie not, nor deceive any man his neighbour or one another, yet they interpreted it but good counsel, if a man desired to be perfect; but no precept to bind under pain of sin. And so by that means, not only they that spake true, but also they that lied to deceive, were compelled to swear and to confirm their words with oaths, if they would be believed. Swearing.

But Christ bringeth light and salt to the text (which the pharisees had darkened and corrupt with the stinking mist of their sophistry) and forbiddeth to swear at all, either by God or any creature of God's; for thou canst swear by none other at all, except the dishonour shall redound to the dishonour of God. If thou swear By God it is so, or By God I will do this or that, the meaning is, that thou makest God judge, to avenge it of thee, if it be not as thou sayest, or if thou shalt not do as thou promisest. Now if truth be not in thy words, thou shamest thine heavenly father, and testifiest that thou believest that he is no righteous judge, nor will avenge unrighteousness; but that he is wicked as thou art, and consenteth and laugheth at thee; while thou deceivest thy brother, as well created after the likeness of God, and as dear bought with the precious blood of Christ, as thou. And thus through thee (a wicked son) is the name of thy father dishonoured, and his law not feared, nor his promises believed. And when thou swearest by the Gospel book, or Bible, the meaning is, that God, if thou lie, shall not fulfil unto thee, the promises of mercy therein written. But contrariwise to bring unto thee all the curses, plagues and vengeance therein threatened, unto the disobedient and evil doers. And even so when thou swearest by any creature, as by bread or salt, the meaning is, that thou de- To swear by God.

Men ought so to deal that their words may be credited without any oaths.

sirest, that the Creator thereof shall avenge it of thee, if thou lie, &c. wherefore our dealing ought to be so substantial, that our words might be believed without an oath. Our words are the signs of the truth of our hearts, in which ought to be pure and single love toward thy brother; for whatsoever proceedeth not of love is damnable. Now falsehood to deceive him, and pure love, cannot stand together. It cannot therefore be but damnable sin, to deceive thy brother with lying, though you add no oath to thy words. Much more damnable is it then to deceive and to add an oath thereto, &c.

Swearing in what sort it is lawful.

Howbeit all manner of swearing is not here forbidden, no more than all manner of killing, when the commandment saith, Kill not; for judges and rulers must kill. Even so ought they, when they put any man in office, to take an oath of him that he shall be true and faithful and diligent therein. And of their subjects it is lawful to take oaths, and of all that offer themselves to bear witness. But if the superior would compel the inferior, to swear that should be to the dishonour of God, or hurting of an innocent, the inferior ought rather to die than to swear. Neither ought a judge to compel a man to swear against himself, that he make him not sin and forswear, whereof it is enough spoken in another place. But here is forbidden swearing between neighbour and neighbour, and in all our private business and daily communication. For customable swearing, though we lied not, doth rob the name of God of his due reverence and fear. And in our daily communication and business one with the other, is so much vanity of words, that we cannot but in many things lie, which to confirm with an oath, though we beguile not, is to take the name of God in vain, and unreverently against the second precept. Now to lie for the intent to beguile, is damnable of itself, how much more then to abuse the holy name of God thereto, and to call to God for vengeance upon thine own self?

Many cases yet there chance daily between man and

man, in which charity compelleth to swear: as if I know that my neighbour is falsely slandered, I am bound to report the truth, and may lawfully swear, yea, and am bound if it need, and that though not before a judge. And unto the weak, where yea and nay have lost their credence through the multitude of liars, a man may lawfully swear to put them out of doubt. Which yet cometh of the evil of them that abuse their language to deceive withal. Finally, to swear to do evil is damnable, and to perform that is double damnation. Herod's oath made him not innocent and guiltless of the death of John the baptist, though the hypocrite had not known what his wife's daughter would have asked. And when men say a king's word must stand; that is truth, if his oath or promise be lawful and expedient.

Charity moderateth the law.

Oath.

To perform an evil oath is double sin.

In all our promises it is to be added, if God will, and if there be no lawful let. And though it be not added, it is to be interpreted, as added. As if I borrow thy sword, and by the hour I promise to bring it thee again, thou be beside thyself. If I promise to pay by a certain day, and be in the mean time robbed or decayed by chance, that I cannot perform it; I am not forsworn, if mine heart meant truly when I promised. And many like cases there be of which are touched in other places. To lie also and to dissemble is not alway sin. David, (1 Kings xxvii.) told King Achish, the Philistine, that he had robbed his own people the Jews, when he had been a roving among the Amalekites, and had slain man, woman, and child for telling tales. And yet was that lie no more sin, than it was to destroy the Amalekites, those deadly enemies of the faith of one almighty God. Neither sinned Hushai, David's trusty friend, (2 Kings xvii.) in feigning and beguiling Absalom, but pleased God highly. To bear a sick man in hand that wholesome bitter medicine is sweet, to make him drink it, it is the duty of charity, and no sin. To persuade him that pursueth his neighbour, to hurt him or slay him, that his neighbour is gone another contrary

He is not forsworn whose heart meant truly when he promised.

To lie or dissemble in some causes not culpable.

way, is the duty of every Christian man by the law of charity, and no sin; no, though I confirmed it with an oath. But to lie for to deceive and hurt, that is damnable only, &c.

Ye have heard, how it is said, An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, that ye withstand not wrong. But if a man give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will go to law with thee and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak thereto. And if any man compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow turn not away.

Christ here intended not to disannul the temporal regiment, and to forbid rulers to punish evil doers, no more than he meant to destroy matrimony, when he forbade to lust, and to covet another man's wife in the heart. But as he there forbade that which defileth matrimony, even so he forbiddeth here that which troubleth, unquieteth, and destroyeth the temporal regiment, and that thing which to forbid the temporal regiment was ordained: which is, that no man avenge himself. Christ meddleth not with the temporal regiment. But in all this long sermon fighteth against the pharisees' false doctrine, and salteth the law, to purge it of the corruption of their filthy glosses, and to bring it unto the right taste and true understanding again.

For the pharisees had so interpreted that law of Moses, (which pertained only unto the rulers) that every private person might avenge himself, and do his adversary as much harm again, as he had received of him.

Now if he that is angry, have deserved that men pronounce death upon him; and he that saith Racha, hath deserved that men should gather a council to determine some sundry and cruel death for so heinous a crime; and

if he that calleth his brother fool, have deserved hell: what deserveth he that smiteth or avengeth himself with his own hand? Here is forbidden therefore private wrath only, and that a man avenge himself.

Cheek.

To turn the other cheek what it is.

To turn the other cheek, is a manner of speaking, and not to be understood as the words sound; as was to cut off the hand, and to pluck out the eye. And as we command our children not only, not to come nigh a brook or water, but also not so hardy as once to look that way, either to look on fire, or once to think on fire, which are impossible to be observed. More is spoken than meant to fear them and to make them perceive that it is earnest that we command. Even so is the meaning here, that we in no wise avenge, but be prepared ever to suffer as much more, and never to think it lawful to avenge, how great soever the injury be: for he himself turned not the other cheek, when he was smitten before the bishop; nor yet Paul, when he was buffetted before the bishop also. But ye have had a little above, Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the earth. Let all the world study to do thee wrong, yea, let them do thee wrong; and yet if thou be meek, thou shalt have food and raiment enough for thee and thine. And moreover, if the worst come, God shall yet set such a tyrant over thee, that (if thou be meek and canst be content that he poll thee properly, and even as thou mayest bear) shall defend thee from all other. Who is polled intolerably, that his life is bitter and even death to him, but he that is impatient and cannot suffer to be polled? Yea, poll thyself and prevent other, and give the bailiff or like officer, now a capon, now a pig, now a goose, and so to thy landlord likewise: or if thou have a great farm, now a lamb, now a calf; and let thy wife visit thy landlady three or four times in the year, with spiced cakes, and apples, pears, cherries, and such like. And be thou ready with thine oxen or horses three or four, or half a dozen days in the year to fetch home their wood, or to plough their land: yea, and if thou have a good horse,

Meekness.

Polling, how to avoid it.

let them have him good cheap, or take a worse for him, and they shall be thy shield and defend thee, though they be tyrants and care not for God, that no man else shall dare poll thee. And thereto thou mayest with wisdom get of them that shall recompense all that thou doest to them. All this I mean, if thou be patient and wise and fear God thereto, and love thine neighbour, and do none evil. For if thou keep thyself in favour with hurting thy neighbour, thine end will be evil, and at the last desperation in this world, and hell after.

But, and if thou canst not poll thyself with wisdom, and laugh and bear a good countenance, as though thou rejoicest while such persons poll thee, every man shall poll thee, and they shall maintain them, and not defend thee. Let this therefore be a common proverb, be contented to be polled of some man, or to be polled of every man.

Two manner states and degrees of regiments.

Ye must understand that there be two states or degrees in this world: the kingdom of heaven which is the regiment of the Gospel. And the kingdom of this world which is the temporal regiment. In the first state there is neither father, mother, son, daughter: neither master, mistress, maid, manservant, nor husband, nor wife, nor lord, nor subject, nor man nor woman. But Christ is all, and each to other is Christ himself. There is none better than other, but all like good, all brethren, and Christ only is Lord over all. Neither is there any other thing to do, or other law save to love one another as Christ loved us. In the temporal regiment is husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, master, mistress, maid, manservant, Lord, and subject.

Every man is of the spiritualty and of the temporalty born.

Now is every person a double person, and under both the regiments. In the first regiment, thou art a person for thine own self, under Christ and his doctrine, and mayest neither hate nor be angry, and much less fight or avenge. But must after the ensample of Christ humble thyself, forsake and deny thyself, and hate thyself, and cast thy-

self away, and be meek and patient, and let every man go over thee, and tread thee under foot and do thee wrong; and yet love them, and pray for them, as Christ did for his crucifiers. For love is all, and what is not of love that is damnable and cast out of that kingdom.

For that kingdom is the knowledge of God and Christ. But he that loveth not, knoweth neither God nor Christ; therefore he that loveth not is not of that kingdom. The minor is on this wise proved, he that knoweth God and Christ seeth light, for Christ is light; but he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and wotteth not whither he goeth, for darkness hath blinded his eyes. (1 Joh. ii.) Ergo, he that hateth his brother knoweth not what Christ hath done for him, and therefore hath no true faith, nor is of the spiritual kingdom of God.

Love: he that loveth not his neighbour hath not the true faith of Christ.

To hate thyself, that shalt thou get, if thou considerest thine own sins and the deep damnation that long thereto, with due repentance. And to love, that thou shalt obtain, if thou behold the great and infinite mercy of God with strong faith. There is none so great an enemy to thee in this world, but thou shalt lightly love him, if thou look well on the love that God shewed thee in Christ.

In the temporal regiment thou art a person in respect of other; thou art an husband, father, mother, master, mistress, lord, ruler, or wife, son, daughter, servant, subject, &c. And there thou must do according to thine office. If ye be a father thou must do the office of a father and rule, or else thou damnest thyself. Thou must bring all under obedience whether by fair means or foul. Thou must have obedience of thy wife, of thy servants, and of thy subjects; and the other must obey. If they will not obey with love, thou must chide and fight, as far as the law of God, and the law of the land will suffer thee. And when thou canst not rule them, thou art bound in many cases, to deliver them unto the

The temporal regiment.

higher officer of whom thou didst take the charge over them.

Violence. Not to resist violence how it is understood.

Now to our purpose, whether a man may resist violence, and defend or avenge himself. I say nay, in the first state, where thou art a person for thyself alone and Christ's disciple. There thou must love, and of love do, study, and enforce: yea, and suffer all things, (as Christ did) to make peace, that the blessing of God may come upon thee, which saith: Blessed be the peace makers, for they shall be the children of God. If thou suffer and keepest peace in thyself only, thy blessing is, the possession of this world. But if thou so love the peace of thy brethren, that thou leave nothing undone or unsuffered to further it, thy blessing is, thou shalt be God's son, and consequently possess heaven.

But in the worldly state, where thou art no private man, but a person in respect of other, thou not only mayest, but also must, and art bound under pain of damnation to execute thine office, where thou art a father, thou must have obedience by fair means or by foul; and to whom thou art an husband, of her thou must require obedience and chastity, and to get that, attempt all that the law of the land commandeth and will. And of thy servants thou must exact obedience and fear, and mayest not suffer thyself to be despised. And where thou art a ruler thereto appointed, thou must take, prison and slay too; not of malice and hate, to avenge thyself, but to defend thy subjects, and to maintain thine office.

Rulers must punish, not for malice, but for defence of the people, and maintenance of the laws.

Concerning thyself, oppress not thy subjects with rent, fines, or custom at all, neither pill them with taxes and such like, to maintain thine own lusts; but be loving and kind to them, as Christ was to thee, for they be his and the price of his blood. But those that are evil doers among them and vex their brethren, and will not know thee for their judge and fear thy law, them smite, and upon them draw thy sword, and put it not up until thou hast done thine office; yet without hate to the person, for his

master's sake, and because he is in the first regiment thy brother, but to amend him only; or if it cannot be but that thou must lose one to save many, then execute thine office with such affection, with such compassion and sorrow of heart, as thou wouldest cut off thine own arm to save the rest of the body.

An example how to understand the two regiments.

Take an ensample: thou art in thy father's house among thy brethren and sisters. There if one fight with another, or if any do thee wrong, thou mayest not avenge nor smite, for that pertaineth to thy father only. But if thy father give thee authority in his absence, and command thee to smite if they will not be ruled, now thou art another person. Notwithstanding, yet thou hast not put off the first person, but art a brother still, and must ever love, and prove all thing to rule with love. But if love will not serve, then thou must use the office of the other person, or sin against thy father. Even so when thou art a temporal person, thou puttest not off the spiritual. Therefore thou must ever love. But when love will not help, thou must with love execute the office of the temporal person, or sin against God. A mother can smite and love: and so mayest thou with love execute the office of thy second state. And the wife, son, servant, and subject are brethren in the first state, and put not that person off, by reason of the second degree; and therefore must they love ever, and with love pay custom, tribute, fear, honour and obedience to whom they belong, as Paul teacheth, Rom. xiii. And though the other do not his duty and love thee, but rule thee with rigourousness and deal unkindly with thee, thou not deserving; yet cleave thou to Christ, and love still, and let not his evil overcome thy goodness and make thee evil also.

Whatsoever thou art bound to do, do it with love.

And as after the ensample above, thy father hath power over thee to command thee to use his power over thy brethren, even so hath thy master, to give thee his authority over thy fellows. Which when thou hast, thou must remember that thou art a fellow still, and bound to love

still. But if love alone will not help, then put thy master's authority unto thy love. And so hath the ruler power over thee, to send thee to use violence upon thy neighbour, to take him, to prison him, and haply to kill him too. And thou must ever love thy neighbour in thine heart, by the reason that he is thy brother in the first state, and yet obey thy ruler and go with the constable or like officer, and break open thy neighbour's door, if he will not open it in the king's name: yea, and if he will not yield in the king's name, thou must lay on, and smite him to the ground till he be subdued. And look what harm he getteth, yea though he be slain, that be on his own head. For thine heart loved him, and thou desirest him lovingly to obey, and hast not avenged thyself in that state where thou art a brother. But in the worldly state, where thou art another manner [of] person in this case, thou hast executed the authority of him that hath such power of God, to command thee, and where thou wert damned of God if thou didst not obey.

How to be a warrior.

And like is it, if thy lord or prince send thee a warfare into another land, thou must obey at God's commandment, and go, and avenge thy prince's quarrel, which thou knowest not but that it is right. And when thou comest thither, remember what thou art in the first state with them against whom thou must fight, how that they be thy brethren and as deeply bought with Christ's blood as thou, and for Christ's sake to be beloved in thine heart. And see that thou desire neither their life or goods, save to avenge thy prince's quarrel and to bring them under thy prince's power. And be content with thy prince's wages, and with such part of the spoil (when thou hast won) as thy prince or his deputy appointeth thee. For if thou hate them in thine heart, and covet their goods, and art glad that an occasion is found (thou carest not whether it be right or wrong) that thou mayest go a robbing and murdering unpunished, then art thou a murderer in the sight of God, and thy blood will be shed

Thou mayest fight with or slay thine enemies, and yet love them.

again for it, either in the same war following, or when thou art come home (as thou there didst in thine heart) so shalt thou rob and steal, and be hanged for thy labour, or slain by some other mischief.

Goods.

Now concerning the goods of this world, it is easy to judge. In the first state or degree thou oughtest to be thankful to Christ, and to love, to give and to lend to them that are bought with his precious blood, all that thou art able. For all that thou owest to Christ whose servant thou art to do his will, that must pay them. And that thou doest to them, that same thou doest to Christ, and that thou art not ready to do for them, that deniest thou to do for Christ. But and any of thy brethren will withhold, or take away by force above that thou mayest spare, by the reason of some office that thou hast in the second state; or invade thee violently, and lay more on thy back than thou canst bear; then hold thine heart and hand, that thou neither hate nor smite, and speak fair and lovingly, and let neighbours go between. And when thou hast proved all means of love in vain, then complain to the law, and the officer that is set to be thy father, and defend thee, and to judge between thee and thy brother.

Matt. xxv.

To go to law.

Thou wilt say, The text forbiddeth me to go to law; for it saith, if a man will law with thee and take thy coat, thou must let him have gown and all. If I must suffer myself to be robbed by the law, wilt thou say, By what right can I with law recover mine own? I answer: behold the text diligently. For by no right of law can a man take thy coat from thee: for the law was ordained of God, to maintain thee in thy right and to forbid that wrong should be done thee. Wherefore the text meaneth thus, that where the law is unjustly ministered, and the governors and judges corrupt, and take bribes, and be partial, there be patient and ready to suffer ever as much more, whatsoever unright be done thee, rather than of impatience, thou shouldest avenge thyself on thy neighbour or rail or make insurrection against the superiors

To rise against the judge or magistrate is to resist God.

which God hath set over thee. For to rise against them is to rebel against God and against thy father when he scourgeth thee for thine offence, and a thousand times more sin than to avenge thee on thy neighbour. And to rail on them is to rail on God, as though thou wouldest blaspheme him, if he made thee sick, poor, or of low degree, or otherwise than thou wouldest be made thyself.

Princes: whether they may be resisted or put down of their subjects in any case.

Thou wilt haply say: the subjects ever choose the ruler, and make him swear to keep their law, and to maintain their privileges and liberty, and upon that submit themselves unto him: ergo, if he rule amiss, they are not bound to obey. But may resist him and put him down again? I answer, your argument is nought. For the husband sweareth to his wife; yet though he forswear himself, she hath no power to compel him. Also though a master keep not covenant with his servant, or one neighbour with another, yet hath neither servant, nor yet neighbour (though he be under none obedience) power to avenge; but the vengeance pertaineth ever to an higher officer, to whom thou must complain.

Yea, but you will say: It is not like. For the whole body of the subjects choose the ruler. Now *cujus est ligare, ejus est solvere*: ergo, if he rule amiss, they that set him up may put him down again. I answer: God (and not the common people) chooseth the prince, though he choose him by them. For (Deut. xvi.) God commandeth to choose and set up officers; and therefore is God the chief chooser and setter up of them, and so must he be the chief putter down of them again; so that without his special commandment, they may not be put down again. Now hath God given no commandment to put them down again: but contrariwise, when we have anointed a king over us at his commandment, he saith: Touch not mine anointed. And what jeopardy it is to rise against the prince that is anointed over thee, how evil soever he be, see in the story of king David, and throughout all the books of the kings. The authority of

the king is the authority of God; and all the subjects compared to the king, are but subjects still (though the king be never so evil) as a thousand sons gathered together are but sons still, and the commandment, Obey your fathers, goeth over all, as well as over one. Even so goeth the commandment over all the subjects: obey your prince and the higher power, and he that resisteth him, resisteth God, and getteth him damnation. And unto your argument, *cujus est ligare, ejus est solvere*, I answer: he that bindeth with absolute power, and without any higher authority, his is the might to loose again. But he that bindeth at another man's commandment, may not loose again without the commandment of the same. As they of London choose them a Mayor; but may not put him down again, how evil soever he be, without the authority of him with whose licence they chose him. As long as the powers or officers be one under another, if the inferior do thee wrong, complain to the higher. But if the highest of all do thee wrong, thou must complain to God only. Wherefore the only remedy against evil rulers is, that thou turn thine eyes to thyself and thine own sin, and then look up to God and say: O Father, for our sin, and the sin of our fathers, is this misery come upon us, we know not thee as our Father, to obey thee and to walk in thy ways, and therefore thou knowest not us as thy sons, to set loving schoolmasters over us. We hate thy law, and therefore hast thou, through the wickedness of unrighteous judges, made that law that was for our defence, to be a tyrant most cruel, and to oppress us, and do us injury above all other kinds of violence and robbing. And amend thy living, and be meek and patient, and let them rob as much as they will, yet shall God give thee food and raiment, and an honest possession in the earth, to maintain thee and thine withal.

The king hath God's authority.

An answer to the former argument.

Moreover concerning thy goods, thou must remember how that thou art a person in the temporal regiment, and the king, as he is over thy body, even so is he Lord of

Goods.

The King as he is lord of thy body, so is he of thy goods.

thy goods, and of him thou holdest them, not for thyself only, but for to maintain thy wife, children, and servants, and to maintain the king, the realm, and the country, and town or city where thou dwellest. Wherefore thou mayest not suffer them to be wasted, that thou were not able to do thy duty, no more than a servant may suffer his master's goods to go to wreck negligently. For he that provideth not for his, and namely for them of his own household, saith Paul, denieth the faith, and is worse than an infidel. But every man is bound to labour diligently and truly, and therewith so soberly to live, that he may have enough for him and his, and somewhat above for them that cannot labour, or by chance are fallen into necessity. And of that give and lend, and look not for it again. And if that suffice not thy neighbour's necessity, then speak and make labour to thy brethren, to help also. For it is a common proverb, Many hands make light work, and many may bear that that one alone cannot.

And thy wife, thy children, and servants, art thou bound to defend. If any man would force thy wife, thy daughter, or thy maid, it is not enough for thee to look on, and say, God amend you. Nay, thou must execute thine office and authority which the king giveth thee. And by the way you must defend thy master and his goods, and the king's goods, which thou hast to maintain thy wife and household withal, and thine neighbour that goeth with thee, against thieves and murderers. And against all such persons lay about thee, and do as thou wouldest do if thou were under the king's standard against his enemies which hath invaded the realm. For all such persons are mortal enemies to the realm, and seek to put down the king, and law, and altogether, and to make that it might be lawful to sin unpunished. And of this manner if thou mark well the difference of these two states and regiments, thou mayest soil all like doubts that shall be laid against thee.

Regiments.

Moreover when I say, there be two regiments, the

spiritual and temporal; even so I say that every person baptized to keep the law of God and to believe in Christ, is under both the regiments, and is both a spiritual person and also a temporal, and under the officers of both the regiments; so that the king is as deep under the spiritual officer, to hear out of God's word what he ought to believe and how to live, and how to rule, as is the poorest beggar in the realm. And even so the spiritual officer, if he sin against his neighbour, or teach false doctrine, is under the king's, or temporal correction, how high soever he be. And look how damnable it is for the king to withdraw himself from the obedience of the spiritual officer; that is to say, from hearing his duty, to do it, and from hearing his vices rebuked, to amend them; so damnable is it for the spiritual officer, how high soever he be, to withdraw himself from under the king's correction, if he teach false, or sin against any temporal law.

As the spiritualty may rebuke king's vices so may kings use temporal correction against the spiritualty.

Finally, ye must consider that Christ here teacheth his disciples, and them that should be the light and salt in living and doctrine, to shine in the weak and feeble eyes of the world, diseased with the meagrim, and accustomed to darkness; that without great pain they can behold no light; and to salt their old festered sores, and to fret out the rotten flesh, even to the hard quick, that it smart again; and spare no degree. But tell all men, high and low, their faults, and warn them of the jeopardy, and exhort them to the right way. Now such schoolmasters shall find small favour and friendship with the rulers of this world, or defence in their laws. As Christ warneth them, (Matt. x.) saying, I send you out as sheep among wolves. Beware therefore of men, for they shall deliver you up to their councils, and shall scourge you in their synagogues or council-houses, and ye shall be brought before the chief rulers and kings, for my sake; and there teacheth them, as here, to arm themselves with patience, and to go forth boldly with a strong faith, and trust in the succour and assistance of God only, and to plant the gospel

A preacher of the gospel may use no violence.

Rulers do repine to hear their faults.

with all love and meekness, and to water it with their own blood, as Christ did. Thou mayest not in that state come with a sword, to defend either thyself or thy gospel, and to compel men to worship thee as God, and to believe what thou wilt. Nay, ye sheep, use no such regiment among wolves. If thou be a sheep, thou art not in evil taking if thou canst bring to pass that the wolf be content with thy fleece only, and to shear thee yearly.

Give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow turn not away. Luke saith, Give to whosoever asketh thee: that is to say, wheresoever thou seest need, or seest not the contrary, but there may be need; to the uttermost of thy power there open thine heart, and be merciful only. And of mercifulness set God thy father, and Christ thy lord and master for an ensample: and enforce to be as like them as thou canst. If thou be merciful, God hath bound himself to be merciful to thee again. Lo, is not this an exceeding great thing, that God, which of no right ought to be bound to his creatures, hath yet put it whole in thine own hands, to bind him against the day of thy tribulation, then to shew thee mercy.

In lending we must follow the rule of mercy.

Concerning lending, proceed by the foresaid rule of mercy. Many, in extreme need, yet ashamed to beg, shall desire thee to lend. Unto such, instead of lending give, or say thus, Lo, here is as much as ye require. If ye can pay it again, well, do, and ye shalt find me ready against another time, to lend or give (if need be) as much more. But and if ye shall not be able to pay it again, trouble not your conscience, I give it you. We be all one man's children: one man hath bought us all with his blood, and bound us to help one another. And with so doing, thou shalt win the heart of him to thy Father.

Concerning merchandise, and chapmen, the less borrowing were among them, the better should the common wealth be: if it were possible, I would it were, ware for ware, or money for ware, or part money and part ware.

But if it will not be; but that a man to get his living with, must needs lend, and call for it again to find his household, and to pay his debts; then in the lending, be first single and harmless as a dove, and then as wise as a serpent. And take heed to whom thou lendest. If when thou hast lent an honest man, God visit him, and take away his goods, with what chance it be, whether by sea or land, that he is not able to pay thee; then to prison him, or to sue him at the law, or once to speak an unkind word, were against the law of love, and contrary to shewing mercy. There thou must suffer with thy neighbour and brother as Christ did with thee, and as God doth daily. If an unthrift have beguiled thee, and spent thy goods away, and hath not to pay, then hold thine hand and heart, that thou avenge not thyself; but love him, and pray for him, and remember how God hath promised to bless the patient and meek. Nevertheless, because such persons corrupt the common manners, and cause the name of God the less to be feared, men ought to complain upon such persons to the officer that is ordained of God to punish evil doers, and the officer is bound to punish them. If thou have lent a fox, which with cavillation will keep thy goods from thee; then if the ruler and the law will not help thee to thy right, do as it is above said of him that will go to law with thee, and take thy coat from thee. That is to say, be content to lose that and as much more to it, rather than thou wouldest avenge thyself. Let not the wickedness of other men pluck thee from God. But abide by God and his blessings, and tarry his judgment. Liberality is mercifulness that bindeth God to be merciful again. Covetousness (the root of all evil, and father of all false prophets, and the schoolmaster that teaches the messengers of Satan to disguise themselves like to the messengers of Christ) is merciless, that shall have judgment without mercy; and therefore exhorteth Christ all his so diligently, and above all thing, to be liberal and to beware of covetousness.

We must not revenge ourselves upon our evil debtors, but refer our cause to God, and his officers.

Covetousness is the root of all evil.

James ii.

Ye have heard, how it is said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies. Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you. Pray for them which do you wrong and persecute you. That ye may be the children of your heavenly Father. For he maketh his sun to arise over the evil, and over the good, and sendeth rain upon the righteous and unrighteous. For if ye love them that love you, what reward shall ye have? do not the publicans so? and if ye be friendly to your brethren only, what singular thing do ye? do not the publicans likewise? ye shall therefore be perfect, as your Father, which is in heaven, is perfect.

The enemies of God, and his word are to be hated.

This text of hating a man's enemy, standeth not in any one place of the Bible, but is gathered of many places, in which God commandeth the children of Israel to destroy their enemies, the Canaanites, the Amorites, the Amalekites, and other heathen people; as the Moabites, and Ammonites, which sought to bring them out of the favour of God, and to destroy the name of God. The Amalekites came behind them, and slew all that were faint and weary by the way, as they came out of Egypt. The Moabites and Ammonites hired Balaam to curse them, and beguiled them with their women, and made a great plague among them. These and like nations were perpetual enemies to their land which God had given them, and also of the name of God and of their faith. For which cause they not only might lawfully, but were also bound to hate them, and to study their destruction again; howbeit they might not yet hate (of the said nations) such as were converted to their faith.

Levit. xix.

Now by the reason of such texts as commanded to hate the common enemies of their country, and of God and his law, and of their faith; the pharisee's doctrine was, that a man might lawfully hate all his private enemies without

exception, nor was bound to do them good. And yet Moses saith, Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart. And again, Thou shalt not avenge thyself, nor bear hate in thy mind against the children of thy people. And if thine enemy's ass sink under his burden, help to lift him up again. And if his ox or ass go astray, bring them home again; which all, no doubt, the pharisees did interpret for good counsel, but for no precepts; wherefore Christ salteth their doctrine, and proveth that a man is bound both to love and to do good to his enemy. And as a natural son, though his brethren be never so evil, yet to love them, and shew them kindness, for his father's sake and to study to amend them. What hast thou to rejoice of if thy religion be no better than the religion of thieves? For thieves love among themselves: and so do the covetous of the world, as the usurers and publicans, which bought in great the emperor's tribute, and to make their most advantage, did overset the people. Nay, it is not enough for thee to love thy benefactors only, as monks and friars do, and them of thine own coat, and order, or the brethren of thine own abbey only, (for among some their love stretcheth no farther, and that shall he that is removed out of another cloister thither, well find: yea, and in some places charity reacheth not to all the cells of the same cloister, and to all the monks that were professed in the same place. But lift up thine eyes unto thy heavenly Father, and as thy Father doth, so do thou love all thy Father's children. He ministereth sun and rain to good and bad, by which two, understand all his benefits. For of the heat, and drith of the sun, and cold and moist of the rain, spring all things that are necessary to the life of man. Even so provoke thou and draw thine evil brethren to goodness, with patience, with love in word and deed, and pray for them to Him that is able to make them better and to convert them. And so thou shalt be thy Father's natural son, and perfect, as he is perfect. The text saith not, Ye shall be as perfect as God; but perfect after his

Publicans, what they were.

As our heavenly Father bestoweth his benefits upon good and bad, so ought we to love both friend and foe.

To be perfect, what it meaneth.

ensample. To be perfect in the Scripture is not to be a monk or a friar, or never to sin. For Christ teacheth not here monks or friars, but his disciples and every Christian man and woman. And to be in this life altogether without sin is impossible. But to be perfect, is to have pure doctrine without false opinions, and that thine heart be to follow that learning.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE SIXTH CHAPTER.

TAKE heed to your alms, that ye do it not before men, to be seen of them, or else ye get no reward of your Father which is in heaven. Therefore when thou givest alms, make not a trumpet to be blown before thee, as the hypocrites do in the Synagogues and in the streets, to be praised of men. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward. But thou when thou givest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth, that thine alms may be in secret. And then thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.

Alms.

As he rebuked their doctrine above, even so here he rebuketh their works; for out of devilish doctrine can spring no godly works. But what works rebuketh he? verily such as God in the Scripture commandeth, and without which no man can be a Christian man; even prayer, fasting and alms-deed. For as the Scripture, corrupt with glosses, is no more God's word, even so the deeds commanded in the Scripture (when the intent of them is perverted) are no more godly deeds. What said the scribes and pharisees of him (think ye) when he rebuked

Deeds commanded by the Scripture, done to any other end than they ought, are no good deeds.

such manner of works? No doubt as they said (when he rebuked their false glosses,) how he destroyed the law and the prophets, interpreting the Scripture after the literal sense, which killeth, and after his own brain, clean contrary to the common faith of holy church, and minds of great clerks, and authentic expositions of old holy doctors. Even so here what other could they say, than, Behold the heretic, and did not we tell you before whereto he would come, and that he kept some mischief behind, and spewed not out all his venom at once: see to what all his godly new doctrine that sounded so sweetly, is come! He preached all of love, and would have the people saved by faith, so long till that now at the last, he preached clean against all deeds of mercy, as prayer, fasting, and alms-deed, and destroyeth all good works. His disciples fast no more than dogs, they despise their divine service, and come not to church; yea, and if the holiest of all St. Francis' order, ask them alms, they bid him labour with his hands, and get his living, and say that he that laboureth not is not worthy to eat, and that God bad that no such strong lubbers should loiter, and go a begging, and be chargeable to the congregation, and eat up that other poor men get with the sweat of their bodies: yea, and at the last ye shall see, if we resist him not betimes, that he shall move the people to insurrection, as Caiaphas said, and the Romans shall come and take our land from us. As ye see in the text, (Luke xxiii.) How when they could not drive the people from him with those persuasions) they accused him to Pilate, saying: We have found this fellow perverting the people, and forbidding to pay tribute to Cæsar, and saying that he is Christ, a king. Wherefore thou canst not be Cæsar's friend, if thou let him escape. But after all these blasphemies, yet must the Holy Ghost rebuke the world of their righteousness, yea, of their false righteousness and false holiness, which are neither righteousness nor holiness, but colour of hypocrisy.

John xvi.

It is the purpose and intent of our deeds that make or mar.

Christ here destroyeth not prayer, fasting, and alms'-deed, but preacheth against the false purpose and intent of such works, and perverting the true use: that is to say, their seeking of glory, and that they esteemed themselves righteous thereby, and better than other men, and so despised and condemned their brethren. With our alms, (which is as much to say as deeds of mercy) or compassion, we ought to seek our Father's glory only, even the wealth of our brethren, and to win them to the knowledge of our Father, and keeping of his law. He that seeketh the glory of his good works, seeketh the glory that belongeth to God, and maketh himself God. Is it not a blind thing of the world, that either they will do no good works at all, or will be God for their good works, and have the glory themselves?

Trumpets.

To blow trumpets, what.

Concerning blowing of trumpets, and ringing of bells, or making a cry, to call men to fetch alms, (though the right way be, that we should know in every parish all our poor, and have a common coffer for them; and that strangers should bring a letter of recommendation with them of their necessity, and that we had a common place to receive them into for the time, and though also we ought to flee all occasions of vain glory,) yet while the world is out of order, it is not damnable to do it. So that the very meaning, both that we blow no trumpets, and

Left hand.

that the left hand know not what the right hand doth, is, that we do as secretly as we can, and in no wise seek glory, or to receive it if it were proffered; but to do our deeds in singleness of conscience to God, because it is his commandment, and even of pure compassion and love to our brethren; and not that our good deeds, through standing in our own conceit, should cause us to despise them.

Vain glory, a good remedy against it.

If thou be tempted to vain glory for thy good deeds, then look on thine evil thereto, and put the one in the one balance, and the other in the other. And then, if thou understand the law of God any thing at all, tell me, whether weigheth heavier.

If that thou doest do tempt thee, then consider what thou doest not. If it move thee to set up thy comb, when thou givest thy brother a farthing or a halfpenny, ponder in thine heart how far thou art off from loving him as well as thyself, and caring for him as much as for thyself. And be sure how much thou lackest of that, so much thou art in sin, and that in damnable sin, if God, for Christ's sake, did not pardon thee; because thine heart mourneth therefore, and thou fightest with thyself to come to such perfection. If a peacock did look well on his feet, and mark the evil-favoured shrieking of his voice, he would not be so proud of the beauty of his tail.

Works justify not from sin, neither deserve the reward promised.

Finally: that many dispute, Because God hath promised to reward our deeds in heaven, that our deeds deserve heaven; and because he promiseth to shew mercy to the merciful, that with our deeds we deserve mercy; and because he promiseth forgiveness of sins to them that forgive, that our deeds deserve forgiveness of sin, and so justify us: I answer, first, there is enough spoken thereof in other places; so that to them that have read that, it is superfluous to rehearse the matter again. Furthermore, the argument is nought, and holdeth by no rule. See ye not that the father and mother have more right to the child and to all it can do, than to an ox or a cow? It is their flesh and blood, nourished up with their labour and cost. The life of it, and the maintenance, and continuance thereof, is their benefit; so that it is not able to recompense that it oweth to father and mother by a thousand parts.

And though it be not able to do his duty, nor for blindness to know his duty, yet the father and mother promise more gifts still without ceasing, and that such as they think should most make it to see love, and to provoke it to be willing to do part of his duty. And when it hath done amiss, though it have no power to do satisfaction, nor lust or courage to come to the right way again, yet their love and mercy abideth still so great to it, that upon appoint-

ment of mending, they not only forgive that is past, and fulfil their promise nevertheless, but promise greater gifts than ever before, and to be better father and mother to it than ever they were. Now when it cannot do that thousandth part of his duty, how could it deserve such promises of the father and mother, as a labourer doth his hire? The reward thereof cometh of the love, mercy, and truth of the father and mother, as well when the child keepeth the appointment, as when they fulfil their promise when it hath broken the appointment; and not of the deserving of the child.

Our reward cometh not of our deserts, but through the love that God beareth us through faith in Jesus Christ.

Even so, if we were not thus drowned in blindness, we should easily see that we cannot do the thousandth part of our duty to God: no, though there were no life to come. If there were no life to come, it were not right that I should touch any creature of God otherwise than he hath appointed. Though there were no life to come, it had nevertheless been right that Adam had abstained from the forbidden apple-tree, and from all other too, if they had been forbid. Yea, and though there were no life to come, it were not the less right that I loved my brother, and forgave him to-day, seeing I shall sin against him to-morrow. Because a father cannot give his children heaven, hath he no power to charge them to love one another, and to forgive, and not avenge one another? And hath he not right to beat them if they smite each other, because he cannot give them heaven? A bondman that hath a master more cruel than a reasonable man would be to a dog, if there were no heaven might this bond-servant accuse God of unrighteousness, because he hath not made him a master? Now, then, when we cannot do our duty by a thousand parts, though there were no such promises, and that the thing commanded is no less our duty though no such promise were; it is easy to perceive that the reward promised cometh of the goodness, mercy, and truth of the promiser, to make us the gladder to do our duty, and not of the deserving of the receiver. When we have

done all we can, we ought to say in our heart, that it was our duty, and that we ought to do a thousand times more; and that God (if he had not promised us mercy, of his goodness in Christ,) he might yet of right damn us for that we have left undone.

We may not challenge the promise by our merits, but by Christ's blood.

And as touching forgiveness of sin: though forgiveness of sin be promised unto thee, yet challenge it not by thy merits, but by the merits of Christ's blood; and hear what Paul saith (Phil. iii.) concerning the righteousness of the law: I was faultless, or such as no man could rebuke. But the things that were to vantage, I thought damage for Christ's sake; yea, I think all thing to be damage, or loss, for the excellent knowledge's sake of Christ Jesus my Lord; for whose sake I let all go to loss, and count them as chaff or refuse, (that is to say, as things which are purged out, and refused, when a thing is tried and made perfect,) that I might win Christ, and might be found in him; not having my righteousness that cometh of the law. But that which cometh of faith in Christ Jesus, which righteousness cometh of God through faith, and is to know him, and the power of his resurrection, (how he is Lord over all sin, and the only thing that slayeth and vanquisheth sin,) and to know also the fellowship of his passions, that I might be made like unto his death.

So that when righteousness and true merits be tried, we must be content that our's be the chaff, and Christ's the pure corn; our's the scum and refuse, and Christ's the pure gold. And we must fashion ourselves like unto Christ, and take every man his cross, and slay and mortify the sin in the flesh, or else we cannot be partakers of his passion. The sin we do before our conversion is forgiven clearly, through faith, if we repent, and submit ourselves to a new life. And the sin we do against our wills, (I mean the will of the Spirit, for after our conversion we have two wills, fighting one against the other,) that sin is also forgiven us through faith, if we repent and submit

Cross.

Works.

What they do.

ourselves to amend. And our diligence in working keepeth us from sinning again, and minisheth the sin that remaineth in the flesh, and maketh us pure and less apt and disposed to sin; and it maketh us merry in adversities, and strong in temptations, and bold to go unto God with a strong and fervent faith in our prayers, and sure that we shall be heard when we cry for help at need, either for ourselves or for our brethren. Now, they that be negligent and sin, are brought in temptation unto the point of desperation, and feel the very pains of hell; so that they stand in doubt whether God hath cast them away or no. And in adversity they be sorrowful and discouraged, and think that God is angry, and punisheth them for their sins. When a child taketh pain to do his father his pleasure, and is sure that he shall have thank and a reward for his labour, he is merry, and rejoiceth in work and pain that he suffereth; and so is the adversity of them that keep themselves from sinning. But a child when he is beaten for his fault, or when he thinketh his father is angry, and loveth him not, is anon desperate and discouraged; so is the adversity of them that are weak, and sin oft. A child that never displeaseth his father is bold in his father's presence to speak for himself or his friend. But he that oft offendeth, and is correct or chid, though the peace be made again, yet the remembrance of his offences maketh him fearful, and to mistrust, and to think his father would not hear him; so is the faith of the weak that sin oft. But as for them that profess not a new living, however so much they dream of faith, they have no faith at all; for they have no promise, except they be converted to a new life. And therefore in adversities, temptation and death, they utterly despair of all mercy, and perish.

Negligence in doing good bringeth us to desperation.

Two apt similitudes of well and evil doings.

Promise.

He that professeth not a new life, hath no promise of mercy in Christ.

And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be like the hypocrites. For they love to stand and pray in the synagogues, and in corners of the streets, that they might be seen of men. Verily, I say unto you, they have

their reward. Thou, therefore, when thou prayest, go into thy chamber, and shut thy door, and pray to thy Father which is in secret. And thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly.

Prayer.

After alms followeth prayer. For as it is a Christian man's part to help his neighbour, and to bear with him when he is overcharged, and suffer with him, and to stand one by another, as long as we live here on this earth; even so, because we be ever in such peril and cumbrance that we cannot rid ourselves out, we must daily and hourly cry to God for aid and succour, as well for our neighbours as for ourselves.

Works must be seasoned with God's word if they shall please God.

To give alms, to pray, to fast, or to do any thing at all, whether between thee and God, or between thee and thy neighbour, canst thou never do to please God therewith, except thou have the true knowledge of God's word to season thy deeds withal. For God hath put a rule in the Scripture, without which thou canst not move an hair of thine head, but that it is damnable in the sight of God. As it is of the Jews, though (as Paul beareth them record) they have a fervent zeal to God, yea, and have the Scripture thereto; yet because they have not the true understanding, all is damnable that they do. Hypocrites, with scraps of alms, get an hundred fold. And with prayer they get praise, (as thou seest here) and pray thereto, and rob widows' houses, as thou readest Matt. xxiii. And with fasting they get fat bellies, full dishes, and ever more than enough. And yet there is none alms, praying, or fasting among them in the sight of God. With their prayers they exclude all true prayers, and make it impossible that there should be any among them. For

Prayer.

What it is, and how many ways it may be named prayer.

prayer is, either a longing for the honour and name of God, that all men should fear him, and keep his precepts, and believe in him. And contrary to that, they seek their own honour, that men should fear them and keep their ordinances, and believe in their sweet blessings, prayers, pardons, and

whatsoever they promise. If they bid fast, thou must do it or be damned, and be an heretic and rebellious to holy church. If they dispense, and give thee clean remission for to eat flesh on Good Friday, (though thou be never so lusty,) thou must obey, or else thou art damned, and an heretic, because thou dost not believe in holy church. Either prayer is, to give God thanks for the benefits received. Contrary to which, they will first have thanks of the world for their prayers, and rob not only widows' houses, but also lord, prince, emperor, and all the world, of house and land; yea, and of their wits too. And then they bind God to thank them, and to give them (beside the thanks which they have gotten in the world) not only heaven and a higher place, but that he give heaven to no other man, save through their merits.

Either prayer is a complaining and a shewing of thine own misery and necessity, or of thy neighbour's before God; desiring him, with all the power of thine heart, to have compassion and to succour. Contrary to this, they have excluded with their prayers all necessity and misery from among them. They be lords over all, and do what they will through the whole world. King and emperor are their servants; they need but say the word, and their will is fulfilled. And as for their neighbours, they have no compassion upon them, to bring their complaints before God; but with their prayers rob them of that little they have, and so make them more miserable.

Chamber.

To shut thy chamber door, what it meaneth.

Of entering into the chamber and shutting the door to, I say as above, (of that the left hand should not know what the right hand doth,) the meaning is, that we should avoid all worldly praise and profit, and pray with a single eye and true intent according to God's word; and is not forbidden thereby to pray openly. For we must have a place to come together to pray in general, to thank and to cry to God for the common necessities, as well as to preach the word of God in. Where the priest ought to pray in the mother tongue, that the name of God may be

hallowed, and his word faithfully taught and truly endurstood, and faith and godly living increased; and for the king and rulers, that God will give them his Spirit, to love the commonwealth; and for peace, that God will defend us from all enemies; for wedering and fruits, that God will keep away pestilence and all plagues. And the priest should be an ensample to the people how they should pray. There be of such things as the priests and other babble (and not pray) many good collects that should much edify the people if they were spoken in the mother tongue. And then, while the priests sing psalms, let every man pray privately, and give God thanks for such benefits as his heart knoweth he hath received of God, and commend to God his private necessities, and the private necessities of his neighbours which he knoweth, and is privy to. Neither is there in all such any jeopardy of vain glory. But and if God hath given any man the spirit of praying, as all men have not like gifts, that he pray oft and when other do not; then to have a secret place to pray in, both for the avoiding of vain glory, and speech of people, and that thou mayest be free to use thy words as thou lustest; and whatsoever gestures and behaviours do move thee most to devotion, is necessary and good.

Prayer.

And, finally: whatsoever necessity thou hast, though thou feel thyself a great sinner, yet if thine heart be to amend, let not that discourage thee. But go boldly to thy Father, seeing thou hast his commandment ever to pray, and promise that he will hear thee; not for thy goodness, but of his goodness, and for his truth.

God's commandment and promise should move us to pray.

Moreover, when ye pray, babble not much as the heathen do. For they think that they shall be heard, for their much babbling's sake. Be not, therefore, like unto them. For your Father knoweth of what things ye have need, before ye ask him. Of this manner, therefore, pray ye:

The paternoster.

Our Father, which art in heaven, honoured be thy name, thy kingdom come. Thy will be fulfilled, even in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive our trespassers. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory for ever. Amen.

As before he rebuked their false intent in praying, that they sought praise and profit of that work, which ought to be direct to God alone, either to give him thanks, that is to say, to be aknowen, and to confess in the heart that all we have cometh of him; or to call upon him for aid and succour in temptations and all necessity; even so here he rebuketh a false kind of praying, wherein the tongue and lips labour, and all the body is pained, but the heart talketh not with God, nor feeleth any sweetness at all, nor hath any confidence in the promises of God; but trusteth in the multitude of words, and in the pain and tediousness of the length of the prayer, as a conjuror doth in his circles, characters, and superstitious words of his conjuration. As ye see now to be among our friars, monks, canons and nuns, and even throughout all the spiritualty. Which (as I have proved above) have, with their false intent of praying, excluded all occasions, and the whole matter of true prayer, and have turned it into a bodily labour, to vex the tongue, lips, eyes, and throat with roaring, and to weary all the members; so that they say (and may truly swear it) that there is no greater labour in the world than prayer; for no labour, whatsoever it be, when the body is compelled, and the heart unwilling, can be other than grievous and painful. But true prayer (if they complained and sought help either for themselves, or for their neighbours, and trusted in the promise of God) would so comfort the soul and courage the heart, that the body (though it were half dead and more) would revive and be lusty again, and the labour would be short and easy:

That prayer is vain wherein the heart is not joined with the tongue.

False prayer is painful.

True prayer is pleasant.

(as for an ensample: if thou were so oppressed that thou were weary of thy life, and wentest to the king for help, and haddest sped, thy spirits would so rejoice that thy body would receive her strength again, and be as lusty as ever it was;) even so the promises of God work joy above all measure, where they be believed in the heart.

But our hirelings have no God's word, but trust in the multitude of words, length of babbling, and pain of body, as bond servants. Neither know they any other virtue to be in prayer; as ye may see by the ordinances of all foundations. King Henry the Fifth built Sion, and the Charterhouse of Shene, on the other side of the water, of such a manner that lip-labour may never cease. For when the friars of Sion ring out, the nuns begin. And when the nuns ring out of service, the monks on the other side begin. And when they ring out, the friars begin again, and vex themselves night and day, and take pain for God's sake; for which God must give them heaven. Yea, and I have known of some ere this, that for very pain and tediousness, have bidden the devil take their founders. They call Lent the holiest time of the year: but wherein is that holiness? verily, in multitude of words, and the tedious length of service. For let them begin at six, and it will be twelve or they can end. In which time they be so wearied, that by the time they have dined, they have lust to nothing save to sleep. And in the end of all they think no farther, than that God must reward their pain. And if you ask how they know it? they will answer: He must reward it, or be unrighteous. Now, God looketh not on the pain of the prayer, but on thy faith in his promise and goodness: neither yet on the multitude of thy words, or long babbling. For he knoweth thy matter better than thou thyself. And though the Jews and the heathen were so foolish, through their unbelief, to babble many words, yet were they never so mad as to mumble and buz out words that they understood not. Thou wilt say, What matter maketh it if I

Sion
Shene.

Not the multitude of thy words, but thy faith in praying, God doth respect.

speak words which I understand not, or if I pray not at all, seeing God knoweth my matter already: I answer, he will have thee to open thine heart to him, to inform and edify thine ownself. That thou mightest know how all goodness is of him, to put thy trust and confidence in him, and to fly to him in time of need, and to be thankful, and to love him and obey his commandments, and turn and be converted unto thy Lord God; and not to run wild as the ungodly do, which know not the benefits of God, and therefore be unthankful to obey his commandments.

And that thou mayest know how and what to pray, he giveth thee a short instruction and ensample, saying, After this manner pray:

Our Father, which art in heaven.

The paternoster is expounded.

First, thou must go to him as a merciful Father, which of his own goodness and fatherly love that he beareth to thee, is ready to do more for thee than thou canst desire, though thou have no merits. But because he is thy Father, only if thou wilt turn, and henceforth submit thyself to learn to do his will.

Honoured be thy name.

To honour God's name, what it is.

Honoured and praised be thy name; or honoured and praised be thou: for to honour God, and to honour the name of God, is all one. And to honour the name of God is to dread him, to love him, and to keep his commandments. For when a child obeyeth his father, he honoureth and praiseth his father: and when he is rebellious and disobedient, he dishonoureth his father. This is, then, the understanding and meaning of it. O Father, seeing thou art Father over all, pour out thy Spirit upon all flesh, and make all men to fear, and dread, and love thee as their Father; and in keeping thy commandments, to honour thee and thy holy name.

Thy kingdom come.

That is, seeing thou art king over all, make all to know thee; and make the kings and rulers, which are but thy substitutes, to command nothing but according to thy word, and to them make all subjects obey.

Kings must command nothing, nor forbid to do any thing contrary to God's word.

Thy will be fulfilled in earth as it is in heaven:

This is all one with that goeth before. Forasmuch, then, as thou art Father and King over all, and all we thy children and brethren among ourselves, make us all as obedient to seek and to do thy will, as the angels do in heaven. Make that no man seek his own will, but all thine. But, and if thou withdraw thine hand to tempt thy children, that the rulers command aught contrary to thy will, then make the subjects to stand fast by thy word, and to offer themselves to suffer all extremity rather than to obey. Finally, when we pray to thee in our temptations and adversities, desiring thee of whatsoever thing it be, and mean truly; yet if Thou, which knowest all, seest a better way to thy glory and our profit, then thy will be, and not ours. As thy son Jesus gave us an ensample, when he desired (if it had been possible) that that cup of bitter death might have departed from him, saying, Yet not as I will, but as thou wilt.

When we request anything at God's hand, we must pray that his will be done, and not ours.

Give us our daily bread.

By bread is understood all manner of sustenance, in the Hebrew speech; yea, and here is understood thereby, all that pertaineth unto the necessity of this life. If we have bread, there is dearth of nothing that can pinch, namely, in that land,—Give us our daily bread. Give us all that the necessity of this life daily requireth. Give it us day by day as we need it. We desire not to have store for many years, to exclude all necessity of praying to thee, and to be, as it were, out of thy danger, and to forget

Daily bread, whereby is understood all that pertaineth to the necessity of this life.

thee. But minister it day by day, that we may daily feel thy benefits, and never forget thee. Or if thou give us abundance above that we desire, then give us an heart to use it, and to bestow it for that purpose thou gavest it, and to deal with our neighbours, and not to love it inordinately. But to think that it is thine, and that thou mayest take it away every hour, and that we be content that thou so do at thy pleasure; and so ever to have it but for daily bread.

Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive our trespassers.

Because he knoweth that our nature is so weak that we cannot but sin daily; therefore he teacheth us daily to repent, and to reconcile ourselves together, and daily to ask God forgiveness. Seeing he commanded us to ask, we may be bold so to do, and to believe that he will forgive us. No man, therefore, needeth to despair that can repent and ask forgiveness, however so deep he hath sinned. And, methinketh, if we looked somewhat nearer to this text, we needed not make the pope so great a god for his pardons. For Christ (which is a man to be believed,) sheweth us here a more sure way; yea, and that a sensible way, by which we may feel that we be pardoned, and our sins forgiven. We can have no experience of the pope's things, whether they be so or no. He can, with all his pardons, deliver no man of any purgatory that God putteth us unto in this world. He cannot bless, or heal any man so much as of a poor ague, or toothe-ache, which diseases yet (by his own confession) God putteth on us to purge us from sin. But where we cannot see, feel, or have any experience at all, that it so is, there is he mighty. If I were come home out of a land where never man was before, and were sure never man should come, I might tell as many wonders as Master More doth of Utopia, and no man could rebuke me.

A surer way than pardons.

But here, Christ maketh thee sure of pardon, for if thou canst forgive thy brother, God hath bound himself to for-

How thou mayest be sure of pardon for thy sins.

give thee. What if no man have sinned against me? That were hard in this life, nevertheless yet, if that profession be in thine heart, that thou knowest that it is thy duty to forgive thy brother for thy Father's sake, and art obedient to thy Father's ordinance, and wouldest forgive, if any of thy brethren had offended thee, and did ask thee forgiveness; then hast thou that same spirit which God desireth to be in thee. Mark what Christ saith above in the beginning of the fifth chapter. Blessed be the merciful, for they shall have mercy. Doest thou pity thy brethren that sin, and doest thy best to amend them, that thy Father's name may be honoured? Then hast thou that, whereby thou art sure of mercy as soon as thou desirest it. And again: Blessed be the peace makers, for they shall be God's children. Lo, if there be any variance among thy brethren, that one have offended the other, do thy best to set them at one, and thou hast the same thing that God desireth of thee, and for which he hath bound himself to forgive thee.

Lead us not into temptation.

That is, let us not slip out of thy lease, but hold us fast; give us not up, nor cease to govern us, nor take thy Spirit from us. For as a hound cannot but follow his game when he seeth it before him, if he be loose; so can we not but fall into sin when occasion is given us, if thou withdraw thine hand from us. Lead us not into temptation. Let no temptation fall upon us greater than thine help in us, but be thou stronger in us than the temptation thou sendest or lettest come upon us. Lead us not into temptations: Father, though we be negligent, yea, and unthankful and disobedient to thy true prophets; yet let not the devil loose upon us to deceive us, with his false prophets, and to harden us in the way, in which we gladly walk, as thou diddest Pharaoh, with the false miracles of his sorcerers, as thine apostle Paul threateneth us, (2 Thess. ii.)

We cannot of ourselves but fall into sin.

A little thread holdeth a strong man where he gladly is. A little pulling draweth a man whither he gladly goeth. A little wind driveth a great ship with the stream. A light persuasion is enough to make a lecherous man believe that fornication is no sin. And an angry man, that it is lawful to avenge himself, and so forth, by all the corrupt nature of man. A little miracle is able to confirm and harden a man in that opinion and faith which his blind reason believeth already. A few false miracles were sufficient to persuade the covetousness of Pharaoh, and his greediness, (to hold the children of Israel in bondage for their service) that thy true miracles shewed by Moses for their deliverance, were not of thee, but of the same kind, and done by the same craft, as were the miracles of his sorcerers, and so to harden his heart.

Small occasions draw us to sin, whereunto we are naturally prone.

Even so, Father, if thou give us over for our unkindness, seeing the blind nature of man delighteth in evil, and is ready to believe lies, a little thing is enough to make them that love not to walk in thy truth, (and therefore never able to understand thy Son's doctrine, John. vii.) for to believe the feignings of our most holy father, all his superstitious popery and invisible blessings, and to harden them therein. As a stone cast up into the air, can neither go any higher, neither yet there abide when the power of the hurler ceaseth to drive it: even so, Father, seeing our corrupt nature can but go downward only, and the devil and the world driveth thereto that same way, how can we proceed further in virtue or stand therein, if thy power cease in us. Lead us not therefore, O merciful Father, into temptation, nor cease at any time to govern us. Now seeing the God of all mercy which knoweth thine infirmity commandeth thee to pray in all temptation and adversity, and hath promised to help, if thou trust in him; what excuse is it to say, when thou hast sinned, I could not stand of myself, when his power was ready to help thee, if thou haddest asked

But deliver us from evil.

First (as above) let us not fall into temptation. Secondarily, if we be fallen, as who liveth and falleth never? for never to fall were enough to make a man as evil as Lucifer, and to believe that he stood by his own power. If therefore we be fallen even to the bottom, howsoever deep it be, put in thine arm after, for it is long and strong enough, and pluck us out again.

Who should think himself to be without sin were as evil as Lucifer.

Thirdly, deliver us from evil, and pluck us out of the flesh, and the world, and the power of the devil, and place us in thy kingdom, where we be past all jeopardy, and where we cannot sin any more.

For the kingdom, and the power and the glory is thine for ever. Amen.

Because that thou only art the king, and all other but substitutes. And because all power is thine, and all other men's power but borrowed of thee; therefore ought all honour and obedience to be thine of right, as chief Lord; and none to be given other men, but only for the office they hold of thee. Neither ought any creature to seek any more in this world than to be a brother, till thou have put him in office; then (if brotherliness will not help, which he ought first to prove) let him execute thy power. Neither may any man take authority of himself, till God have chosen him, that is to wit, till he be chosen by the ordinance that God hath set in the world, to rule it. Finally, no king, lord, master or what ruler he be, hath absolute power in this world, and is the very thing which he is called, for then they cease to be brethren still, neither could they sin whatsoever they commanded. But now their authority is but a limited power, which, when they transgress, they sin against their brethren, and ought to reconcile themselves to their brethren, and to ask forgiveness, and they are bound to forgive.

Kings and subjects are all one afore God.

Finally, let kings, rulers, and officers remember that God is the very king, and refer the honour that is given to them for their offices sake, to him, and humble themselves to him, and knowledge and confess in their hearts, that they be but brethren, and even no better before God, than the worst of their subjects. Amen.

For if ye forgive men their faults, your heavenly Father shall forgive you also. But, and if ye do not forgive men their faults, no more shall your Father forgive your faults.

A covenant wherewith God is bound to forgive us, and we to forgive each other.

This is God's covenant with us, and a confirmation of the petition above rehearsed in the pater noster: Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive our trespassers. If thou wilt enter into the covenant of thy Lord God, and forgive thy brother, then whatsoever thou hast committed against God, if thou repent and ask him forgiveness, thou art sure that thou art so absolved by these words, that none in heaven nor earth can bind thee; no, though our most holy father curse thee as black as coals, seven foot under the earth, and seven foot above, and cast all his lightening upon thee, to burn thee to powder. Keep the covenant of the Lord thy God therefore, and fear no bugs. But and if thou wilt not come within the covenant of God, or if when thou hast professed it, and received the sign thereof, thou cast the yoke of the Lord from off thy neck, be thou sure thou art bound by these words so fast that none in heaven or in earth can loose thee. No, though our earthly God whisper all his absolutions over thee, and claw thee, and stroke thine head with all his sweet blessings.

God's covenant is a sure absolution to all that keep it.

Furthermore though forgiveness of thy sins be annexed to thy work and forgiving thy brother; yet do not (as I said) thy works justify thee before God. But the faith in Christ's blood, and in the promises made to us for his sake doth bring righteousness into the heart. And the righteousness of the heart by faith, is felt and known by the work.

As Peter in the first of his second Epistle, commandeth to do good works, for to make our vocation and election sure: that we might feel our faith, and be certified that it is right. For except a man be proved and tried, it cannot be known, neither to himself or other men, that he is righteous and in the true faith. Take an ensample least thou be beguiled with sophistry: Christ saith (Matt. xiii.) The kingdom of heaven is like leaven which a woman taketh and hideth in three pecks of meal till all be leavened or sour. Leaven is sometimes taken in an evil sense, for the doctrine of the pharisees, which corrupted the sweetness of the word of God with the leaven of their glosses; and sometime in a good sense, for the kingdom of heaven, that is to say, the gospel and glad tidings of Christ. For as leaven altereth the nature of dough and maketh it thorough sour, even so the gospel turneth a man into a new life and altereth him a little and a little, first the heart, and then the members.

Leaven, how many ways it is taken.

Faith in Christ first certifieth the conscience of the forgiveness of sins and delivereth us from the fear of everlasting damnation; and then bringeth the love of God and of his law into the heart, which love is the righteousness of the heart. Love bringeth good works into the members, which works are the outward righteousness and the righteousness of the members. To hate the will of God is the unrighteousness of the heart, and causeth evil works which are the unrighteousness of the members. As when I hated my brother, my tongue spake evil, my hands smote, and so forth. To love is the righteousness of the heart, and causeth good works which are the righteousness of the members. As if I love my brother, and he have need of me, and be in poverty, love will make me put mine hand into my purse or almonry and to give him somewhat to refresh him, &c. That the love of God and of his commandments is the righteousness of the heart, doth no man doubt save he that is heartless. And that love springeth of faith thou mayest evidently see, 1 John ii.

Faith, what power it is of, and the fruits that spring thereof.

Love is righteousness.

Faith bringeth love.

He that loveth his brother dwelleth in the light. But he that hateth his brother, is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and wotteth not whither he goeth, for darkness hath blinded his eyes. Why is he that hateth in darkness? verily because he seeth not the love of God in Christ. For if he saw that, he could not but love his brother for so kind a father's sake. If any man hate his brother, be thou sure that the same man is in darkness, and hath not the light of true faith, nor seeth what Christ hath done. If a man so love that he can forgive his brother, assure thyself that he is in the light of the true faith, and seeth what mercy is shewed him in Christ.

Works. This is then the sum of altogether: works are the outward righteousness before the world, and may be called the righteousness of the members, and spring of inward Love. love. Love is the righteousness of the heart, and springeth Faith. of faith. Faith is the trust in Christ's blood, and is the gift of God; (Eph. ii.) whereunto a man is drawn of the goodness of God, and driven through true knowledge of the law, and of beholding his deeds in the lust and desire of the members unto the request of the law, and with seeing his own damnation in the glass of the law. For if a man saw his own damnation in the law, he should immediately hate God and his works, and utterly despair, except God offered him Christ, and forgave all that were past, and made him his son, and took the damnation of the law away, and promised that if he would submit himself to learn and to do his best, that he should be accept as well as an angel in heaven, and thereto if he fell of frailty, and not of malice and stubbornness, it should be forgiven upon amendment, and that God would ever take him for his son, and only chastise him at home when he did amiss, after the most fatherliest manner, and as easily as his disease would suffer, but never bring him forth to be judged after the rigorousness of the law. And as thou couldest not see leaven though thou breakest up a loaf, except thou smelledst or tastedst the sourness, even

As leaven cannot be seen in a loaf without smell or taste, so cannot faith in us without good works, and the intent of the same, be seen or appear.

so couldest thou never see true faith or love, except thou sawest works; and also sawest the intent and meaning of the worker, least hypocrisy deceive thee.

Our deeds are the effect of righteousness, and thereto an outward testimony and certifying of the inward righteousness as sourness is of leaven. And when I say faith justifieth, the understanding is, that faith receiveth the justifying. God promiseth to forgive us our sins, and to impute us for full righteous. And God justifieth us actively: that is to say, forgiveth us, and reckoneth us for full righteous. And Christ's blood deserveth it, and faith in the promise receiveth it, and certifieth the conscience thereof. Faith challengeth it for Christ's sake, which hath deserved all that is promised, and cleaveth ever to the promise, and truth of the promiser, and pretendeth not the goodness of her work, but knowledgeth that our works deserve it not, but are crowned and rewarded with the deservings of Christ. Take an ensample of young children, when the father promiseth them a good thing for the doing of some trifle, and when they come for their reward, delayeth with them, saying: What, that thou hast done is not worthy half so much: should I give thee so great thing for so little a trifle? They will answer: Ye did promise me: ye said I should have it: why did ye promise, and why then did ye say so? And let him say what he will to drive them off, they will ever say again, Ye did promise me, so ye did: ye said I should have it, so ye did. But hirelings will pretend their work and say, I have deserved it: I have done so much, and so much, and my labour is worth it.

That faith justifieth, what it meaneth.

Now at the first covenant making with God, and as oft as we be reconciled, after we have sinned, the righteousness cometh of God altogether. But after the atonement is made and we reconciled, then we be partly righteous in ourselves and unrighteous: righteous as far as we love, and unrighteous as far as the love is unperfect. And faith in the promise of God that he doth reckon us for

Faith.

full righteous doth ever supply that unrighteousness and imperfectness, as it is our whole righteousness at the beginning.

Works are sacraments.

Finally, our works which God commandeth, and unto which he annexed his promises that he will reward them, are as it were very sacraments, and visible and sensible signs, tokens, earnest obligations, witnesses, testimonies, and a sure certifying of our souls, that God hath and will do according to his promise, to strength our weak faith, and to keep the promise in mind. But they justify us not, no more than the visible works of the sacraments do. As

Baptism.

for example, the work of baptism, that outward washing, which is the visible sacrament or sign, justifieth us not. But God only justifieth us actively, as cause efficient or workman. God promiseth to justify whosoever is baptised to believe in Christ, and to keep the law of God, that is to say, to forgive them their foresins, and to impute righteousness unto them, to take them for his sons, and to love them as well as though they were full righteous.

Christ.

Faith.

Christ hath deserved us that promise, and that righteousness. And faith doth receive it, and God doth give it and impute it to faith, and not to the washing. And the washing doth testify it, and certify us of it, as the pope's letters doth certify the believers of the pope's pardons. Now the letters help not or hinder, but that the pardons were as good without them, save only to stablish weak souls that could not believe except they read the letters, looked on the seal, and saw the print of St. Peter's keys.

O, a merciful God, and a most loving Father, how careth he for us: first, above all and beside all his other benefits, to give us his own Son Jesus, and with him to give us himself and all: and not content therewith, but to give us so many sacraments, or visible signs, to provoke us and to help our weak faith, and to keep his mercy in mind: as baptism, the sacrament of his body and blood, and as many other sacraments as they will have if they put significations to them (for we destroy

none, but they destroy which have put out the significations or feigned some without) as wedlock, to signify that Christ is the husband and we his wife and partakers with him, as the wife with her husband of all his riches, &c. And beyond all those visible sacraments, to give us yet more sensible and surer sacraments, and surances of his goodness, even in our ownselves: as if we love and give alms to our neighbour, if we have compassion and pray for him, if we be merciful and forgive him, if we deny ourselves, and fast, and withdraw all pleasures from the flesh for love of the life to come: and to keep the commandments of God. For when such things being before impossible, and now are easy and natural, we feel, and are sure that we be altered, and of a new creature, shapen in righteousness after the image of Christ and God our Father, seeing his laws of righteousness are written in our hearts.

When ye fast, be not sad as the hypocrites are. For they fashion them a new countenance, that it might appear unto men how they fast. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward. Thou therefore when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face, that it appear not unto men how thou fastest; but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly. Fast.

As above of alms and prayer: even so here Christ rebuketh the false intent and hypocrisy of fasting. That they sought praise of that work that was ordained for to tame the flesh, and used such fashions, that all the world might know that they fasted, to praise them, and to say: O what holy men are these, how pale and pitiful look they, even like death, hanging down their heads, and beholding the earth, as men clean out of the world? If these come not to heaven, what shall become of us poor wretches of the world? If these be not great in the

If fasting be used to any other end than to tame the flesh, that thereby we may be the more prone to serve God, it is abused.

favour of God, and their prayers be heard whatsoever they ask, in what case are we lay people? Happy is he that may be a brother among them, and partaker of their prayers and fastings, and other holy living. In an unhappy, in an happy (I would say) hour was he born that buildeth them a cell or a cloister, or giveth them a portion of his land to comfort them good men in this painful living, and strait penance which they have taken upon them. Blessed were he that might kiss the edge of the coat of one of them. Oh, he that might have his body wrapped in one of their old coats at the hour of death, it were as good to him as his Christendom, &c. It appeareth also by that they asked Christ why his disciples fasted not as well as the pharisees, that they oft fasted when the common people fasted not, and all to appear holy. As ours fast advent, and begin before lent at Septuagesima, when *Laus tibi domine* cometh in.

To anoint the head, what it meaneth.

And concerning the anointing of thy head, &c. is meant, as afore of turning the other cheek, and of that the left hand should not know what the right did: that is, that they should avoid all vain glory, and fast to God, and for the intent that God ordained it for, and that with a merry heart and cheerful countenance, thereby to feel the working of God, and to be sure of his favour. Such is the meaning, and not to bind them that will fast, to anoint their head and wash their faces. And the manner or phrase of speaking cometh of an usage, that was among the Jews, to anoint themselves with sweet and odoriferous anointments when they were disposed to be merry and to make good cheer, as ye see how Mary of Bethany poured a box of precious ointment upon Christ's head at supper.

Fasting.

As concerning fasting, it were good, that kings and rulers did set an order of soberness among their subjects, to avoid dearth, innumerable diseases, and the great heap of vices that spring of intemperancy, and that they forbid not only riot and excess; but also all manner [of] wanton,

delicious, and customable eating and drinking of such things as corrupt the people, and make the men more effeminate than the woman, so that there remaineth no more tokens of a man in them save their beards. Our fashions of eating make us slothful and unlusty to labour and study: unstable, inconstant, and light mannered: full of wits, after witted (as we call it) incircumspect, inconsiderate, heady, rash, and hasty to begin unadvisedly, and without casting off perils, the end not considered what may follow, not the means well looked upon, how and by what way the matter might be brought to pass, triflers, mockers, rude, unsavoury, jesture without all manner of salt, and even very apes and marmesets, and full of wanton and ribaldish communication and lewd gestures. It corrupteth the wit with false judgment, and infecteth the body with lust, and maketh the whole man so unquiet in himself, that the body cannot sit still and rest in one place and continue in his work, nor the mind persevere and endure in one purpose.

The heap of inconveniences that spring by intemperate and superfluous eating and drinking.

Let them provide that there be diligent fishing in the sea, and command the sea coast and towns whither fish may easily come, to fast Friday, Saturday, and Wednesday if need be, and on the Friday to eat no white meat. And let the countries which have none abundance of fish, yet have white meat enough, fast Friday and Saturday from flesh only. And let those countries where scarcity of both is, fast Friday from flesh only, and eat flesh Wednesday and Saturday. But abstain from supper or from dinner, or eat soberly those days. And let them so moderate their fasts that the people may bear it, a provision made for the old, the sick and feeble, &c. Which fast shall be a temporal thing, for a temporal commonwealth only, and not a service to God.

Fasting days, or days of abstinence are to be ordained for commonweal's sake.

Then let the priests preach first the law truly, and teach the people to see their sins, and to bring them to repentance: And secondarily, the faith of Christ, and the forgiveness of sin through faith: And thirdly, alms,

prayer, and fasting, which are the whole life of a Christian man, and without which there is no Christian man alive.

Alms. And let them preach the true use of their alms, which is to help thy neighbour with counsel, with body and goods, and all that is in thy power: and the true use of

Prayer. prayer, which is to bring his necessity and thine own before God with a strong faith in his promises: and the

Fasting. true use of fasting, which is to tame the flesh, unto the spirit, that the soul may attend to the word of God and pray through faith.

Alms, prayer, and fasting, how necessary. By these three we keep the Spirit of God, and both continue and also grow in righteousness, and wax perfecter and perfecter in soul and body. And if these fail, or that we understand not the right intent, we lose the spirit again, and the righteousness of faith, and the true understanding of the Scripture, and all our learning shall be but pure darkness. And then what a blindness is that, when the darkness of hell is called the light of heaven.

Alms, prayer, and fasting, are inseparable. As it is of alms and prayer, so it is of fasting: judge like of all three. Where any one of them is, there are they all three: and where any one is away, there is none at all. We must have the profession of all three ever written in our hearts. I must ever love my neighbour and be ready to help, and when occasion is offered, then do it. I ought to consider and know that all cometh of God, and to knowledge that same to him in mine heart. And whatsoever we need, we ought to know, that we must receive that of God, and therefore to call ever to him with a strong faith. Even so I must ever fight against my flesh, and therefore ever withdraw from it all that moveth it to rebel against the Spirit.

Fasting is not in eating and drinking only. So now fasting standeth not in eating and drinking only, and much less in flesh alone. But in abstinence of all that moveth the flesh against the Spirit, as long sleeping, idleness, and filthy communication, and all worldly talking, as of covetousness and promotion and such like,

and wanton company, soft clothes, and soft beds, and so forth. Which are that right hand and right eye that must be cut off and plucked out, that the whole man perish not. And as ye can put no general rule of alms or prayer, no more can ye of fasting. But I must be always ready to cut off whatsoever I perceive to strength the flesh against the spirit. And I must have a diligent eye to the flesh and his complexion, and if ought scape me in word or deed, seek whence the occasion came, and at once cut off that right hand, and pluck out that eye.

Works make hypocrites if the true intent be away.

If this fast be truly preached, then is fasting good, and not afore, for making of hypocrites: as Christ would not let his disciples fast before they were learned, lest they should thereby have been no better than the pharisees. And then the outward fasting ordained by the temporal rulers helpeth much, for the weak's sake. Yea, and though the land were so plenteous, that it needed not to command such fast, for to avoid dearth, yet they ought to set such up. Because of them that cannot rule themselves, for whose sakes they ought to forbid excesses of taverns, and alehouses, and rioting out of season. For if the people could rule themselves, what need rulers. Moreover if any man privately shew the priest his infirmities, and the priest see any manner of abstinence or chastising apt for the person, that let him counsel him to do for the subduing of the flesh, and not command as a tyrant under pain of damnation and to make satisfaction. Thuswise let him say: Brother or sister, ye be bound under pain of deadly sin, to tame your flesh by some manner of way that ye sin not against God: and I know no better than this: My counsel and my desire therefore is, that ye use this till either ye have no more need, or till God shew you some better, &c. And let the elders consider diligently the course of their youth, and with wisdom, counsel, and discreet governance, help the younger to avoid the perils and jeopardies which they have learned by their own experience to be in that dangerous journey.

Rulers be ordained for them that cannot rule themselves.

Moreover, when the people be fallen from their profession and from the law; as it shall be impossible for the preacher, to keep the great multitude together, if the temporal sword be slack and negligent in punishing open offences (as they ever have and will be, save in those points only wherein lieth the pith of their own profit and advantage, and the weight of their honour and maintenance of their dignities) as when God also (as his promise is) hath brought upon them the curses of the law: hunger, dearth, battle, pestilence and all manner of plagues, with all misfortune and evil luck. Then let the true preachers be importune, and shew the people the causes of their misery and wretched adversity, and expound the law to them, and bring them to knowledge of their sins, and so bind their consciences and draw them to repentance, and to the appointment and covenant of the Lord again. As many holy prophets, priests, and kings in the old Testament did call the people back, and brought them again in time of adversity, unto the appointment of the Lord. And the priest, prophet or king in God's stead smote hands with them, and took an oath of them, to be the Lord's people and to turn again to the Lord's covenant, for to keep his law and to believe in his promises. And God immediately withdrew his hand and rid them out of all captivity and danger, and became as merciful as ever before.

Preacher. The office of a true preacher.

Note this well, ye temporal magistrates.

Prophets, priests, yea, and kings of the old Testament, zealous preachers.

But we Christians have been very seldom or never called again to the covenant of the Lord, the law of God, and faith of Christ; but to the covenant of the pope often. As he now clucketh apace for his chickens, and will both prove all his old policies, and seek and imagine new practices. And if the people come again, let the priest or bishop, after the ensample of the prophets and high priests of the Israelites, take an oath in God's stead of the king and lords. And let the king and lords receive an oath of the people, and follow the ensample of the Ninevites in fasting and praying.

Papists have often called to the pope's covenant, but seldom to the Lord's.

Some men will say, seeing fasting is to withdraw all

pleasures from the body and to punish the flesh, then God delighteth in our pain taking, &c. I answer, God delighteth in true obedience and in all that we do at his commandment, and for the intent that he commandeth it for. If thou love and pity thy neighbour and help him, thy alms is acceptable. If thou do it of vain glory to have the praise that belongeth to God, or for a greater profit only, or to make satisfaction for thy sins past, and to dishonour Christ's blood, which hath made it already; then is thine alms abominable. If thy prayer be thanks in heart or calling to God for help, with trust in him according to his promise, then thy prayer pleaseth. If thou believe in Christ's blood for the remission of sins, and henceforth hatest sin, that thou punishest thy body to flee thy lusts, and to keep them under that thou sin not again, then it pleaseth God exceedingly. But and if thou think that God delighteth in the work for the work itself, the true intent away, and in thy pain for thy pain itself, thou art as far out of the way as from heaven to the earth. If thou wouldest kill thy body, or when it is tame enough pain him further that thou wert not able to serve God and thy neighbour, according to the room and estate thou art in, thy sacrifice were clean without salt, and altogether unsavoury in the taste of God, and thou mad and out of thy wit. But and if thou trust in thy work, then art thou abominable.

Objection.
Solution.
Pain.
How God delighteth in our pain taking.

Now let us look on the pope's fast. First the intent should be to tame thy lusts, not lechery only, but pride chiefly, wrath, malice, hate, envy, and covetousness, and to keep the law of God, and therefore standeth not in meat and drink only. But how they keep God's law, compare it to their deeds and thou shalt see. Secondarily the fast of the old law was, to put on mourning clothes, as hair or sack, and neither to eat nor drink until night, and all the while to pray and to do alms-deeds and shew mercy. And at even they eat flesh and what God gave, soberly, and as little as would sustain the body, &c. The pope's

Fast.
The intent of fasting, what it is.
Fast.
How the Jews did fast.

Fast. The pope's fast. A feasting fast.

fast is commonly only to eat no flesh. I say not look how lean they be, but consider what a taming of the flesh it is to eat ten or twenty manner of fishes drest after the costliest manner, and to sit a couple of hours, and to pour in of the best wine and ale that may be gotten. And at night to banquet with dew, (as they say) of all manner of fruits and confections, marmalade, succad, greenginger, comfits, sugarplate with malmsey and romney burnt with sugar, cinnamon and cloves, with badard, muscadell and ipocrassy, &c. Think ye not that such dews with drinking a piece of flat-fish or a pickerel, doth not tame the body exceedingly?

Fasting. The true intent is away from the pope's fasting.

Furthermore that the true intent is away both of their fasting and prayers, it is evident; first by the multiplying of them, for when the Jews had lost the understanding of their sacrifices, and did believe in the work, then they were mad upon them, that well was he that could rob himself to offer most; insomuch that the prophets cried out against them, that their offerings stank in the nose of God. And ours had so multiplied their fasting that they could no longer bear them. At the beginning they were tolerable for the vantage: *quia levis est labor cum lucro.* But when they had purchased enough and enough again, they became intolerable. And therefore all our monks whose profession was never to eat flesh, set up the pope, and took dispensations, both for that fast, and also for their straight rules, and made their straight rules as wide as the hoods of their cowls. And as for the hypocrisy of the fraitry where they eat but invisible flesh, or that is interpret to be no flesh, is spoken of in other places. Another proof is that they they so long a time have given pardons of the merits of their fasting, as though they had done more than enough for themselves, and of that merchandise have gotten all they have, and have brought the knowledge of Christ's blood clean into darkness. And last of all, what shall I say of the open idolatry of innumerable fasts: of St. Brandon's fast, St. Patrick's fast, of four holy Fridays.

Monks made the pope a god for his dispensations.

of St. Anthony's between St. Mary's days, of our Lady fast, either vii year, the same day that her day falleth on in March, and then begin, or one year with bread and water, and all for what purposes, ye know well enough: and of such like, I trow ten thousand in the world. And who hath rebuked them?

See that ye gather not treasure upon the earth, where rust and moths corrupt, and where thieves break up and steal: But gather you treasure in heaven, where neither rust nor moths corrupt, and where thieves neither break up nor steal. For where your treasure is, there will be your hearts also.

Note the goodly order of Christ's preaching. First he restored the true understanding of the law, then the true intent of the works. And here consequently he rebuketh the mortal foe and sworn enemy, both of true doctrine and true living, which is covetousness, the root of all evil, saith Paul (1 Tim. vi.) Covetousness is image service. (Col. iii.) It maketh men to err from the faith. (1 Tim. vi.) It hath no part in the kingdom of Christ and God. (Eph. v.) Covetousness hardened the heart of Pharaoh that the faith of the miracles of God could not sink into it. Covetousness did make Balaam, which knew all the truth of God, to hate it, and to give the most pestilent and poisonful counsel against it, that heart could imagine, even for to destroy it if it had been possible. Covetousness taught the false prophets in the Old Testament, to interpret the law of God falsely, and to pervert the meaning and intent of all the sacrifices and ceremonies, and to slay the true preachers that rebuked them.

Covetousness, what a pestilence it is.

And with their false persuasions they did lead all the kings of Israel out of the right way, and the most part of the kings of Judah also. And Peter in the second chapter of his second Epistle prophesieth that there should be false teachers among us, that should follow the way of

2 Pet. ii.

Balaam, (that is to say, for covetousness persecute the truth) and through covetousness with feigned words to make merchandise of the people, and to bring in damnable sects too. And here ye have an infallible rule, that where covetousness is, there is no truth; no, though they call themselves the church, and say thereto that they cannot err. Covetousness kept Judas still in unbelief though he saw and did also many miracles in the name of Christ, and compelled him to sell him to the scribes and pharisees; for covetousness is a thing merciless. Covetousness made the pharisees to lie on Christ, to persecute him, and falsely to accuse him. And it made Pilate, though he found him an innocent, yet to slay him. It caused Herod to persecute Christ yet in his cradle. Covetousness maketh hypocrites to persecute the truth against their own consciences, and to lie to princes that the true preachers move sedition and make their subjects to rise against them, and the said covetousness maketh the princes to believe their wicked persuasions, and to lend their swords to shed innocent blood.

Covetousness cannot but err.

Finally, covetousness maketh many (whom the truth pleaseth at the beginning) to cast it up again, and to be afterward the most cruel enemies thereof, after the ensample of Simon Magus. (Acts viii.) Yea and after the ensample of sir Thomas More, Kt. which knew the truth, and for covetousness forsook it again, and conspired first with the cardinal to deceive the king, and to lead him in darkness. And afterward when the light was sprung upon them, and had driven them clean out of the Scripture, and had delivered it out of their tyranny, and had expelled the dark stinking mist of their devilish glosses: and had wiped away the cobwebs which those poisoned spiders had spread upon the face of the clear text, so that the spiritualty (as they call themselves) were ashamed of their part as shameless as they be; yet for all that, covetousness blinded the eyes of that gleering fox more and more, and hardened his heart against the truth, with the confidence of his

More.

Covetousness blinded the eyes and hardened the heart of sir Thomas More.

painted poetry, babbling eloquence, and juggling arguments of subtle sophistry, grounded on his unwritten verities, as true and as authentic as his story of Utopia. Paul therefore biddeth Timothy to charge the rich to believe in the living God, and not in their uncertain riches, for it is impossible for a covetous idolater or image server that trusteth in the dead god of his riches, to put his trust in the living God.

The commodities that follow covetousness and worldly rich men.

One misery is, that they which here gather and lay up, cannot tell for whom. Another is rust, canker, moths, and a thousand misfortunes besides, thieves, extortioners, oppressors, and mighty tyrants, to the which the rich be ever a prey. And though they prosper to the end outwardly, yet fear ever gnaweth their hearts inwardly. And at the hour of death they know and feel that they have gathered nought, and then sorrow they, and are like one that dreameth of riches, and in the morning when he findeth nought, is heavy, and sorry for the remembrance of the pleasant dream. And finally when they be most loth to die, and hope to live long, then they perish suddenly, after the ensample of that rich man which intended to make him larger barns and store-houses. Happy therefore is he that layeth up treasure in heaven, and is rich in faith and good works; for the reward thereto promised shall God keep sure for him; no man can take it away. Here is not forbidden to have riches. But to love it, to trust in it, and to be careful for it. For God hath promised to care for us, and to give us enough, and to keep that which is gotten, if we will care to keep his commandments. Whatsoever office or degree thou art in in this world, do the duty of thine office diligently, and trust in God, and let him care. If thou be an husbandman, ear and sow, and husband thy ground, and let God alone for the rest, he will care to make it grow plenteously, and to send seasonable weather to have it in, and will provide thee a good market to sell, &c.

Luke xii.

In like manner, if thou be a king, do the office of a

king, and receive the duties of the king, and let God care to keep thee in thy kingdom. His favour shall do more for thee than a thousand millions of gold, and so of all other. He that hath but a little, and is sure that God shall keep both him and it, is richer than he which hath thousands, and hath none other hope than that he and it must be kept with his own care and policy.

Luke xiv.

And, finally, mark o nepoint in Luke xiv. None of them that refuseth not all that he possesseth can be my disciple; that is, he that casteth not away the love of all worldly things, can be no scholar of Christ's to learn his doctrine. Then he addeth that salt is good; but if the salt be unsavoury, or hath lost his virtue, what can be seasoned therewith? Verily, nothing. Now, by salt is understood the doctrine; and the meaning is, if ye be covetous and love worldly things, it will corrupt the salt of your doctrine, so that whatsoever you powder therewith, it shall be more unsavoury than before.

Covetousness maketh the salt of God's word unsavoury.

Where your treasure is, there are your hearts. If your treasure be in the world, so is the love of your hearts. And if ye love the world, and the things of the world, the love of God is not in you; and the love of God is the love of his commandments: and he that loveth not God's commandments shall never preach them truly, because he loveth them not. But shall corrupt them with glosses, that they may stand with that which his heart loveth, and until they have another sense than ever God gave them. Ergo, no covetous person can be a true prophet. It is not for nought, then, that Christ so oft and so diligently warneth his disciples to beware of covetousness, as of that thing which he wist well had ever corrupt the word of God, and ever should.

Covetousness maketh a false prophet.

The light of thy body is thine eye; wherefore, if thine eye be single, all thy body shall be full of light. But and if thine eye be wicked, then shall thy whole body be dark. If, therefore, the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!

Note the conclusion with a proper similitude. The eye is the light of the body; and by the light of the eye all other members see and are governed. As long as the eye seeth, hand and foot do their duties, neither is there any fear that a man should stumble or fall into fire or water. But if the eye be blind, all the body is blind; and that so blind, that there is no remedy at all: set a candle before him, he seeth not; give him a lantern in his hand, and yet he goeth not straight. Bring him out into the sun, and point him unto that which thou wouldest have him see, it booteth not. Even so, if covetousness have blinded the spiritual eye, and perverted the right intent of the law of God, and of the works commanded by God, and of the sacrifice, ceremonies, and sacraments, and of all other ordinances of God, (which intent is the spiritual eye) then is all the doctrine dark, and very blindness: yea, and then how dark is the darkness, when that which is pure blindness is believed to be light! How dark is the doctrine of them that teach that a man may compel God with the works of freewill to give him his favour and grace, or make God unrighteous! How dark is the doctrine of them, which (to the rebuke of Christ's blood) teach that works do justify before God, and make satisfaction for sins! How blind are they which think prayer to be the pattering of many words, and will therefore not only be praised and paid of the world, but also by the title thereof challenge heaven, and not by the merits of Christ's blood! How dark is the doctrine of them whose faith is only, and altogether, in appointments which they themselves have feigned between them and God, unto which yet God never subscribed: in which, also, they assign what work, and how much they will do, and what reward, and how great, God must give them; or choose whether he will be unrighteous.

Darkness.

Covetousness causeth darkness.

How dark is the doctrine of them that say stiffly, that the work of the sacraments in itself (not referring it to stir up the faith of the promises annexed to them,) doth

Darkness.

justify; and affirm, that bodily pain, for the pain itself, (not referring it either to the love of the law of God or of their neighbour,) doth please God! How dark, damnable, and devilish, is the doctrine of them, which not only think lucre to be the service of God, but also are so far past all shame, that they affirm they be the holy church and cannot err; and all that they decree must be an article of our faith, and that it is damnable once to doubt or search the Scripture whether their doctrine will thereto agree or no; but say their decrees must be believed as they sound, how contrary soever the Scripture be; and the Scripture must be expounded and made agree to them. They need not to regard the Scripture, but to do and say as their Holy Ghost moveth them; and if the Scripture be contrary, then make it a nose of wax, and wrest it this way and that way till it agree.

The darkness of the pope's doctrine here plainly appeareth.

Faith in works is darkness.

Faith of works was the darkness of the false prophets, out of the which the true could not draw them. Faith of works was the blindness of the pharisees, out of the which neither John Baptist nor Christ could bring them. And though John Baptist piped to them with reasons of the Scripture invincible, and Christ thereto added miracles, yet the Pharisees would not dance. For John Baptist (as they thought,) was too mad to live so straight a life, and to refuse to be justified thereby. And as for Christ and his disciples, the pharisees were much holier themselves, fasted oftener, and prayed thicker; yea, and uttered many more words in their prayer than they. Faith of works is that belief of the Turks and Jews, which driveth them ever away from Christ. Faith of works hath been that light of darkness in which a great part of us Christian have walked ever since Pelagius and Faustus, well about twelve hundred years, and ever more and more; and in which all our religious have walked all, and more, to this four or five hundred year; and in which the priests also have walked a long season; the Lord bring them out again.

Finally: how dark is the darkness, when a pharisee and a very Pelagian standeth up, and preached against the pharisees and the pelagians and is allowed of all the audience! And in conclusion when the world ever since it began, hath and doth of natural blindness believe in their own works; then if the Scripture be perverted to confirm that error, how sore are their hearts hardened, and how deep is that darkness! Darkness.

No man can serve two masters: for he shall either hate the one, and love the other; or cleave to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

Mammon is riches or abundance of goods. And Christ concludeth with a plain similitude, that as it is impossible to serve two contrary masters, and as it is impossible to be retained unto two divers lords, which are enemies one to the other, so is it impossible to serve God and mammon. Two masters of one mind, and one will, might a man serve: for if one will, one mind, and one accord be in twenty, then are they all but one master. And two masters where one is under the other and a substitute, may a man serve. For the service of the inferior is the commandment of the superior. As to serve and obey father, mother, husband, master, and lord, is God's commandment. But and if the inferior be of a contrary will to the superior, and command any contrary thing, then mayest thou not obey. For now they be two contrary masters. So God and mammon are two contrary masters: yea, two contrary gods, and of contrary commandments. Mammon, what it is. Mammon is a God.

God saith, I thy Lord God am but one, and me shalt thou serve alone: that is, thou shalt love me with all thine heart, or with thine whole heart, with all thy soul and with all thy might. Thou shalt neither serve, obey, or love any thing save me and that I bid thee: and that as far and no farther than I bid thee.

And mammon saith the same. For mammon will be a god also, and served and loved alone.

God saith, See thou love thy neighbour, that thou labour with thine hands to get thy living and somewhat above to help him.

Mammon saith, He is called thy neighbour, because he is nigh thee. Now who is so nigh thee as thyself. Ergo, *proximus esto tibi:* that is love thyself, and make lewd and vile wretches to labour diligently to get thee as much as thou mayest, and some scraps above for themselves. Or wilt thou be perfect? Then disguise thyself and put on a grey coat, a black or a pied, and give thyself to devotion, despise the world and take a covetous, (I would say a contemplative) life upon thee. Tell the people how hot purgatory is, and what pains there must be suffered for small faults. And then give mercifully a thousand fold for one, spiritual for temporal: give heaven, and take but house and land, and foolish temporal things.

Mammon maketh men disguise themselves.

God saith, Judge truly between thy brethren, and therefore take no gifts. Mammon saith, It is good manners and a point of courtesy to take that is offered. And he that giveth thee, loveth thee better than such a churl that giveth thee nought, yea and thou art more bound to favour his cause.

God saith, Sell and give alms.

Mammon saith, Lay up to have enough to maintain thine estate, and to defend thee from thine enemies, and to serve thee in thine age, &c.

Forasmuch then as God and mammon be two so contrary masters, that whosoever will serve God, must give up mammon, and all that will serve mammon, must forsake God; it followeth that they which are the sworn servants of mammon, and have his holy spirit, and are his faithful church, are not the true servants of God, nor have his Spirit of truth in them, or can be his true church.

The servants of mammon are not of Christ's church.

Moreover, seeing that God and mammon be so contrary, that God's word is death in mammon's ear, and his

doctrine poison in mammon's mouth; it followeth that if the ministers of God's word do favour mammon, they will so fashion their speech, and so sound their words, that they may be pleasant in the ears of mammon.

The servant of mammon is no true preacher.

Finally, alonely to have riches is not to be the servant of mammon, but to love it and cleave to it in thine heart. For if thou have goods only to maintain the office which God hath put thee in, and of the rest to help thy neighbour's need, so art thou lord over thy mammon and not his servant. Of them that be rich, how shalt thou know the master of mammon from the servant? verily, first by the getting; secondarily, when his poor neighbour complaineth, if he be mammon's servant, mammon will shut up his heart and make him without compassion. Thirdly, the cross of Christ will try them the one from the other. For when persecution ariseth for the word, then will the true servant of Christ bid mammon adieu. And the faithful servant of mammon will utter his hypocrisy, and not only renounce the doctrine of Christ, but also be a cruel and a sharp persecutor thereof, to put away all surmise, and that his fidelity which he hath in his master mammon may openly appear.

To be mammon's servant, what it is.

Mammon's servant, how he is known.

Therefore I say unto you, Care not for your lives what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; neither for your bodies what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body more than the raiment?

He that buildeth a costly house, even to the tiling, will not leave there and lose so great cost for so small a trifle more. No more will he that gave thee so precious a soul, and so beautiful a body, let either of them perish again before the day, for so small a thing as food or raiment. God never made mouth but he made meat for it, nor body but he made raiment also. Howbeit, mammon blindeth our eyes, so that we can neither see nor judge aright.

The goodness of God towards mankind

Behold the fowls of the air, how they sow not, neither reap, nor gather into storehouses; and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. And are not ye far better than they? Which of you with taking thought is able to put one cubit unto his stature?

Birds and beasts teach us to put away care.

He that careth for the least of his creatures will much more care for the greatest. The birds of the air, and beasts, preach all to us that we should leave caring and put our trust in our Father. But mammon hath made us so dull and so clean without capacity, that none ensample or argument be it never so vehement, can enter the wits of us, to make us see or judge aright. Finally: what a madness it is to take so great thought for food or raiment, when the wealth, health, life of thy body, and altogether is out of thy power! If all the world were thine thou couldest not make thyself one inch longer, nor that thy stomach shall digest the meat that thou puttest into it: No, thou art not sure that that which thou puttest into thy mouth shall go through thee, or whether it shall choke thee. Thou canst not make when thou liest or sittest down that thou shalt rise again, or when thou sleepest that thou shalt awake again, or that thou shouldest live one hour longer. So that he which cared for thee when thou couldest not care, must care for thee still or else thou shouldest perish. And he will not care for thee to thy soul's profit, if thou mistrust him and care for thyself.

And for raiment why take ye thought? Behold the lilies of the field how they grow; they labour not, neither spin. And yet I say to you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not apparelled like one of them. Wherefore, if the grass which is to day in the fields, and to morrow shall be cast into the furnace, God so clothe, how much more shall he do the same unto you, O ye of little faith?

Not only fowl and beast, but also tree, herb, and all the flowers of the earth do cry unto us, to trust God, and to cast away all care that is coupled with covetousness, of more than sufficient to bear the charges which we have in our hands, by the reason of the state we be in the world: and all care that is annexed with mistrust, that God should not minister enough to bear all our charges; if we endeavour ourselves to keep his commandments, and to do every man his craft or office he is in truly, and (when God to prove us, suffereth us to have need of our neighbours) we first complain to God, and desire him to prepare the hearts of our neighbours against we come to desire their help. Care.

But mammon pipeth another song, saying: If thou shouldest make no other manner of labour for a benefice, than as if thou caredst not whether thou hadst it or hadst it not, it would be long ere thou gatest one, all wouldbe taken out of thine hand? I answer, as thy labour was to get it, such shall be thy behaviour in it: as thou flatteredst to have it, so shalt thou hit it. And as thou boughtest and soldest to get it, so shalt thou sell in it to buy favour and to be set up in the world. If thy principal intent that thou seekest a benefice for, be lucre, then take heed to the ensample of thy forefather *Simon Magus*. Let thy care therefore be to do the office that God putteth thee in truly, and the blessing that he coupleth thereto that take with thanks, and neither care nor covet farther. Mammon. Acts viii.

Take no thought therefore saying: What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or what shall we put on? all these things the heathen seek. Yea, and your heavenly Father knoweth that ye need all these things. But seek first the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be ministered unto you.

Be not like the heathen which have no trust in God nor

his word, nor believe any life to come. Let them vex themselves, and each be a devil to another for worldly things. But comfort thou thyself with the hope of a better life in another world, ever assured that thou shalt have here sufficient, only if thou keep covenant with the Lord thy God, and seek his kingdom and the righteousness thereof above all things. The kingdom of God is the gospel and doctrine of Christ. And the righteousness thereof, is to believe in Christ's blood for the remission of sins. Out of which righteousness springeth love to God, and thy neighbour for his sake, which is also righteousness as I have said afore, so far as it is perfect, and that which lacketh is supplied by faith in God's word, in that he hath promised to accept that, till more come. Then followeth the outward righteousness of works, by the which, and diligent recording of God's word together, we grow and wax perfect and keep ourselves from going back and loosing the Spirit again.

Covenant. Keep covenant with God and he shall keep promise with thee.

Kingdom of heaven, what.

Righteousness of the kingdom of heaven, what it is

And these have our spiritualty with their corrupt doctrine mingled together; that is to say, the righteousness of the kingdom of God, which is faith in Christ's blood, and the outward righteousness of the members that we ascribe to the one that pertaineth to the other. Seek the kingdom of heaven therefore, and the righteousness of the same; and be sure thou shalt ever have sufficient, and these things shall be ministered unto thee, that is to say, shall come of their own accord, by the promise of God, yea Christ promised thee an hundred fold even in this life, of all that thou leavest for his sake. If that were true, would some say, who would not rather serve him than mammon? yet is it true; for first, if thou be servant of mammon, thou must keep thy god, and thy god not thee. And every man that is stronger than thou, will take thy god from thee. Moreover God will take either thee from thy mammon, or thy mammon from thee, ere thou wouldest; to avenge himself of thy blind unkindness, that when he hath made thee, and given thee all, thou forsakest him and

servest his mortal enemy. But if thou follow Christ, all the world (and let them take all the devils in hell to them) shall not be able to disappoint thee of a sufficient living. And though they persecute thee from house to house a thousand times, yet shall God provide thee of another, with all things sufficient to live by. Now compare the surety of this, with the uncertainty of the other; and then the blessed end of this (that heaven is promised thee also) with the miserable departing from the other so sore against thy will, and then the desperation that thy heart feeleth that thou art already in hell. And then may not this be well called a thousand fold more than the other?

If thou follow Christ, thou canst not lack a sufficient living.

Care not then for the day following; but let the day following care for itself. For the day that is present hath ever enough of his own trouble.

Care.

If thou look well on the covenant that is between thee and thy Lord God, on the one side, and the temptations of the world, the flesh, and Satan on the other, thou shalt soon perceive that the day present hath ever enough to be cared for, and for which thou must cry instantly to God for help also, though thou do thy best. Now then, seeing the day present is overcharged with her own care, what madness is it to lade upon her also the care of the day following, yea, the care of a year, yea, of twenty years, or as though thou never intendest to die, and to torment and vex the soul through mistrust and unbelief, and to make thy life sour and bitter, and as unquiet as the life of the devils in hell?

What we ought chiefliest to care for.

Therefore care day by day, and hour by hour earnestly, to keep the covenant of the Lord thy God, and to record therein day and night, and to do thy part unto the uttermost of thy power. And as for God's part, let him care for it himself, and believe thou his words steadfastly, and be sure that heaven and earth shall sooner perish, than one jot bide behind of that he hath promised. And for thine

own part also, care not of that manner, as though thou shouldest do all alone. Nay, God hath first promised to help thee. Secondarily, to accept thine heart, and that little that thou art able to do, be it never so imperfect. Thirdly, though wind, weather, and the stream carry thee clean contrary to thy purpose, yet because thou bidest still in thy profession, ready to turn the right course as soon as the tempest is a little overblown, God promiseth to forgive that, and not the less to fulfil his promises of one jot.

Tempt. Why God letteth his children be tempted with adversity.

Doth Christ so defend his, that they never come in danger of trouble? yes they come into such straights oft, that no wit nor reason can see any way out, save faith only is sure that God hath, and will make a way through. But that temptation is but for an hour to teach them, and to make them feel the goodness of their father, and the passions of their brethren, and of their master Christ also. It is but as a loving mother, to make her child to perceive and feel her kindness (to love her again and be thankful) letteth it hunger in a morning, and when it calleth for his breakfast, maketh as she heard it not, till for pain and impatience it beginneth to cry a good. And then she stilleth it and giveth it all it asketh, and more too, to please it. And when it is peaced and beginneth to eat, and rejoiceth and is glad and fain, she asketh Who gave thee that, thy mother? and it saith, Yea. Then saith she: Am not I a good mother that give thee all things? and it answereth, Yea. And she asketh: Wilt thou love thy mother? &c. and it saith, Yea. And so cometh it to the knowledge of his mother's kindness and is thankful. Such is the temptation of Christ's elect, and otherwise not.

What care is forbidden.

Here is not forbidden all manner of care, but that worldly and devilish care that springeth of an inordinate love to worldly things, and of mistrust in God. As for an ensample, I covet inordinately more than sufficient or but even that I have need of. And it (because I mistrust God and have no hope in him, and therefore pray not to him) cometh not. Then I mourn, sorrow and

pine away, and am whole unquiet in mine heart. Or whether I have too much, or but sufficient, and love it inordinately, then I care for the keeping. And because I mistrust God, and have no hope in him that he will help me; therefore, when I have locked doors, chambers, and coffers, I am never the nearer at rest, but care still, and cast a thousand perils, of which the most part were not in my might to avoid, though I never slept. And where this care is, there can the word of God have no resting-place, but is choaked up as soon as it is sown.

There is another care that springeth out of the love of God (for every love hath her care) and is a care to keep God's commandments. This care must every man have. For a man liveth not by bread only, but much more by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. The keeping of God's commandment is the life of a man, as well in this world as in the world to come. As children obey father and mother, that thou mayest long live on the earth. And by father and mother is understood all rulers; which, if thou obey, thy blessing shall be long life; and contrary if thou disobey, short life: and shalt either perish by the sword, or by some other plague, and that shortly. And even so shall the ruler, if he rule not as God hath commanded. Oppress thou a widow and fatherless children (saith God) and they shall cry to me, and I will hear their voice, and then will my wrath wax hot; so I will smite you with sword, and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless.

Care. What care every man ought to have.

God's commandment is man's life.

Exod. xx.

Some will say, I see none more prosper, or longer continue, than those that be most cruel tyrants. What then? Yet say I that God abideth ever true: for where he setteth up a tyrant, and continueth him in prosperity, it is to be a scourge to wicked subjects that have forsaken the covenant of the Lord their God. And unto them his good promises pertain not, save his curses only. But if the subjects would turn and repent, and follow the ways

Why God suffereth tyrants to prosper.

of God, he would shortly deliver them. Howbeit, yet where the superior corrupteth the inferior, which else is disposed enough to goodness, God will not let them long continue.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

Judge not, that ye be not judged. For as ye judge, so shall ye be judged. And with what measure ye mete, with the same shall it be measured to you again. Why lookest thou on the mote that is in thy brother's eye, and markest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how canst thou say to thy brother, Let me pluck out the mote out of thine eye, and, behold, there is a beam in thine own eye. Thou hypocrite, pluck first the beam out of thine own eye; and then thou shalt see clearly to pluck the mote out of thy brother's eye.

Judging.

This is not meant of the temporal judgments, for Christ forbad not that, but oft did stablish it, as do Peter and Paul in their Epistles also. Nor here is not forbidden to judge those deeds which are manifest against the law of God; for those ought every Christian man to persecute, yet must they do it after the order that Christ hath set. But when he saith, Hypocrite, cast out first the beam that is in thine own eye, it is easy to understand of what manner of judging he meaneth.

What judging is to be rebuked.

The hypocrites will have fastings, prayings, kneeling, crouching, ducking, and a thousand ceremonies of their own invention. And whosoever do not as they do, him they count a damned soul by and by. To Christ they say, Why fast not thy disciples, as the pharisees do? Why pluck they the ears of corn and rub them in their hands, (though they did it compelled with pure hunger) and do

that is not lawful on the Sabbath day? Why break ye the traditions of our elders, and wash not when ye sit down to meat? Yea, and why dost thou thyself heal the people upon the holy day? Why didst thou not only heal him that was bedrid thirty-eight years, but also badest him bear his bed away upon the Sabbath-day? Be there not working days sufficient to do good deeds to the praise of God, and profit of thy neighbour, but that thou must break thy Sabbath day? He cannot be but a damned person that breaketh the holy day, and despiseth the ordinance of the holy church.

All days are indifferent to do good deeds, to the praise of God, and the profit of our neighbour.

He eateth butter on Fridays without a dispensation of our holy father the pope; yea, and cake-bread, made with milk and eggs too, and white meat in the Lent; he taketh no holy water when he cometh to the church; he heareth no mass from Sunday to Sunday. And either he hath no beads at all, or else you shall not hear a stone clink in the hand of him, nor yet his lips wag all the mass and matins while, &c. O hypocrite! cast out first the beam that is in thine own eye, and then thou shalt see better. Thou understandest all God's laws falsely, and therefore thou keepest none of them truly: his laws require mercy, and not sacrifice. Moreover, thou hast a false intent in all the works that thou doest, and therefore are they all damnable in the sight of God. Hypocrite! cast out the beam that is in thine own eye, learn to understand the law of God truly, and to do thy works aright, and for the intent that God ordained them. And then thou shalt see whether thy brother have a mote in his eye or not, and if he have, how to pluck it out, and else not.

The beam.

For he that knoweth the intent of the law and of works, though he observe a thousand ceremonies for his own exercise, he shall never condemn his brother, or break unity with him, in those things which Christ never commanded, but left indifferent. Or if he see a mote in his brother's eye, that he observeth not with his brethren some certain ordinance made for a good purpose, because he

Ceremonies: he that breaketh unity for zeal of ceremonies understandeth not God's law.

Ceremonies.

knoweth not the intent, he will pluck it out fair and softly, and instruct him lovingly, and make him well content. Which thing, if our spiritualty would do, men would not so abhor to obey their tyranny. But they be hypocrites, and do and command all their works for a false purpose, and therefore judge, slay, and shed their brethren's blood mercilessly. God is the father of all mercy, and therefore gave not hypocrites such absolute power to compel their brethren to obey what they list, or to slay them without pity, shewing either no cause of their commandments at all, but So will we have it! or else assigning an intent damnable, and contrary to all Scripture. Paul (Rom. xiv.) saith to them that observed ceremonies, that they should not judge them that did not; for he that observeth and knoweth not the intent, judgeth at once; and to them that observed not, that they should not despise them that observed; he that observeth not ought not to despise the weakness or ignorance of his brother, till he perceive that he is obstinate and will not learn.

Measures.

Moreover, such measure as thou givest, thou shalt receive again: that is, if thou judge thy neighbour, God shall judge thee; for if thou judge thy neighbour in such things, thou knowest not the law of God, nor the intent of works, and art therefore condemned of God, &c.

Give not that holy thing unto dogs, neither cast your pearls before the swine, lest they tread them under their feet, and the other turn again and all to tear you.

Dogs, who they be, and what is signified thereby.

The dogs are those obstinate and indurate, which, for the blind zeal of their leaven, wherewith they have soured both the doctrine and also the works, maliciously resist the truth, and persecute the ministers thereof; and are those wolves among which Christ sendeth his sheep, warning them not only to be single and pure in their doctrine, but also wise and circumspect, and to beware of men. For they should bring them before judges and kings, and slay

them, thinking to do God service therein; that is, as Paul to the Romans testifieth of the Jews, for blind zeal to their own false and feigned righteousness, persecute the righteousness of God.

The swine are they, which, for all they have received the pure gospel of Christ, will yet continue still in sin, and roll themselves in the puddle and mire of their old filthy conversation, and both before the ignorant, and also the weak, use the uttermost of their liberty, interpreting it after the largest fashion, and most favour of the flesh, as it were the pope's pardon, and therewith make that truth evil spoken of, that thousands which else might have been easily won, will now not once hear thereof; and stir up cruel persecution, which else would be much easier, yea, and sometimes none at all. And yet will those swine, when it cometh to the point, abide no persecution at all; but offer themselves willing, even at the first chop, for to deny all ere they be scarcely apposed of their doctrine. Therefore, lay first the law of God before them, and call them to repentance. And if thou see no hope of mending in them, cease there and go no farther; for they be swine. Swine truly described.

But, alas! it ever was, and shall be, that the greater number receive the words for a newness and curiosity (as they say,) and to seem to be somewhat, and that they have not gone to school in vain, they will forthwith, ere they have felt any change of living in themselves, be schoolmasters, and begin at liberty, and practise openly before their disciples. And when the pharisees see their traditions broken, they rage and persecute immediately. And then our new schoolmasters be neither grounded in the doctrine to defend their doings, nor rooted in the profession of a new life to suffer with Christ, &c.

Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For all that ask receive; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him

that knocketh it shall be opened. For what man is it among you, if his son ask him bread, that would prefer him a stone? Or if he asked him fish, would he offer him a serpent? If ye then which are evil know to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him.

Prayer is a commandment.

First, note of these words, that to pray is God's commandment, as it is to believe in God, to love God, or to love thy neighbour; and so are alms and fasting also.

Belief.

Neither is it possible to believe in God, to love him, or to love thy neighbour, but that prayer will spring out there hence immediately.

To believe in God, what.

For to believe in God, is to be sure that all thou hast is of him, and all thou needest must come of him. Which if thou do, thou canst not but continually thank him for his benefits, which thou continually, without ceasing, receivest of his hand, and thereto ever cry for help: for thou art ever in need, and canst no whence else be holpen. And thy neighbour is in such necessity also; wherefore, if thou love him, it will compel thee to pity him, and to cry to God for him continually, and to thank as well for him as thyself.

Secondarily: This heaping of so many words together, ask, seek, and knock, signify that the prayer must be continual; and so doth the parable of the widow that sued to the wicked judge; and the cause is, that we are ever in continual necessity (as I said) and all our life, but even a warfare and a perpetual battle. In which we prevail as long as we pray, and be overcome as soon as we cease praying; as Israel overcame the Amalekites. As long as Moses held up his hands in prayer, and as soon as he had let down his hands for weariness, the Amalekites prevailed and had the better. (Exod. xvi.) Christ warned his disciples at his Last Supper, to have peace in him; affirming that they should have none in the world. The false prophets shall ever impugn the faith in Christ's blood, and

Luke xviii.

Prayer.

By prayer we win the victory only, and therefore is it of all things the most necessary.

enforce to quench the true understanding of the law, and the right meaning and intent of all the works commanded by God; which fight is a fight above all fights. First, they shall be in such number, that Christ's true disciples shall be but a small flock in respect of them. They shall have works like Christ's; so that fasting, prayer, poverty, obedience, and chastity, shall be the names of their profession. For, as Paul saith to the Corinthians, the angels or messengers of Satan shall change themselves into angels or messengers of light and truth. They shall come in Christ's name, and that with signs and miracles, and have the upper hand also, even to deceive the very elect, if it were possible. Yea, and beyond all this, if thou get the victory of the false prophets, and pluck a multitude out of their hands, there shall immediately rise of the same, and set up a new false sect against thee. And against all these Amalekites, the only remedy is to lift up the hands of thy heart to God in continual prayer. Which hands, if thou for weariness once let fall, thou goest to the worst immediately. Then, beside the fight and conflict of the subtle sophistry, false miracles, disguised and hypocritish works of these false prophets, cometh the dogs and wolves of their disciples, with the servants of Mammon, and the swine of thine own scholars; against which all thou hast no other shield or defence but prayer. Then the sins and lusts of thine own flesh, Satan, and a thousand temptations unto evil in the world, will either drive thee to the castle and refuge of prayer, or take thee prisoner undoubtedly.

False prophets, what their wickedness is.

Mark xiii.

Matt. xxiv.

Thy heart must be joined with thy prayer.

Last of all, thy neighbour's necessity and thine own will compel thee to cry, Father, which art in heaven, give us our daily bread, though thou wert as rich as king Solomon. For Christ commandeth the rich as well as the poor to cry to God continually for their daily bread. And if they have no such need, then is Christ a deceiver and a mocker. What need I to pray thee to give or lend me that is in mine own possession already? Is not

The rich must pray for daily bread.

the first commandment, that there is but one God, and that thou put thy whole trust in him? which, if it were written in thine heart, thou shouldest easily perceive; and that though thou hadst as many thousands as David left behind him, and Solomon heaped more to them, that thou hadst no more than the poor beggar that goeth from door to door; yea, and that the beggar (if that commandment be written in his heart,) is sure that he is as rich as thou. For first, thou must knowledge that thou hast received that great treasure of the hand of God. Wherefore, when thou fetchest an halfpenny thereof, thou oughtest to give God thanks in thine heart for the gift thereof.

To think ourselves saved, or preserved, by any other means than by God's, is idolatry.

Thou must confess, also, that God only hath kept it and thee that same night, and ever before; or else be an idolater, and put thy trust in some other thing than God. And thou must confess, that God only must keep it and thee, the day and night following, and so continually after; and not thine own wit or power, or the wit or power of any other creature or creatures. For if God kept it not for thee, it would be thine own destruction, and they that help thee to keep it would cut thy throat for it. There is no king in Christendom so well beloved, but he hath enow of his own evil subjects (if God kept them not down with fear) that would at one hour rise upon him and slay him, to make havoc of all he hath. Who is so well beloved throughout all England, but that there be enow in the same parish, or nigh about, that would, for his good, wish him to hell if they could, and would with their hands destroy him, if God kept him not, and did [not] cast fear on the other?

Now, then, if God must ever keep it for thee, and thou must daily receive it of his hand (as a poor man doth receive his alms of another man,) thou art in no more surety of thy daily bread; no, though thou were a cardinal, than the poorest is. Wherefore, howsoever rich thou be, yet must thou ever cry to God for thy daily bread. So now

it is a commandment to pray, and that continually; short, thick and oft, as the Psalms be, and all the prayers of the Bible.

Finally: the third is, that we be commanded to pray with faith and trust, and that we believe in the Lord our God, and doubt not in his promises, unto which Christ induceth us with an apt similitude, saying, If ye being evil can give good things unto your children, how much more shall God fulfil his promises of mercy unto his children, if they cry unto him? He is better and more merciful than all men. Wherefore, seeing God commandeth thee to pray, and forasmuch as thou hast so great necessity so to do, and because he is merciful, and hath promised and is true, and cannot deny his own words; therefore pray, and when thou prayest, look not on thine unworthiness, but on his commandment, mercy, and goodness, and on his truth and faithfulness, and believe steadfastly in him. Moreover, whatsoever thou hast done, yet if thou repent and will amend, he promiseth that he will not think on thy sins. And though he defer thee, think it not long, nor faint not in thy faith, or be slack in thy prayer. For he will surely come and give thee more than thou desirest, though he defer for thy profit, or change thy request into a better thing.

Faith must be joined to our prayer.

Though God defer thy request yet must thou not faint.

All things, therefore, whatsoever ye would men should do to you, so do ye to them. This is, verily, the law and the prophets.

This is a short sermon, that no man need to complain that he cannot, for the length, bear it away. It is so nigh thee, that thou needest not to send over sea for it. It is with thee, that thou needest not to be importune upon master doctor, saying, Sir, I pray you, what say ye to this case and to that; and is not this lawful, and may I not so do, and so, well enough? Ask thine own conscience what thou mayest or oughtest to do. Wouldest

Doubts.

How to soil doubts.

thou men did so with thee, then do it. Wouldest thou not be so dealt with, then do it not. Thou wouldest not that men should do thee wrong and oppress thee: thou wouldest not that men should do thee shame and rebuke, lie on thee, kill thee, hire thine house from thee, or tice thy servant away, or take against thy will ought that is thine. Thou wouldest not that men should sell thee false ware when thou puttest them in trust to make it ready, or lay it out for thee; nor thou wouldest not that men should deceive thee with great oaths, swearing that to be good which, indeed, is very naught: thou wouldest not, also, that men should sell thee ware that is naught and too dear, to undo thee; do no such things, then, to thy neighbour. But as loth as thou wouldest be to buy false ware, or too dear for undoing thyself, so loth be thou to sell false ware, or too dear, for undoing thy neighbour. And in all thy needs, how glad thou wouldest be to be holpen, so glad be to help thy neighbour. And so, in all cases, examine thy conscience, and ask her what is to be done in all doubts between thy neighbour and thee, and she will teach thee, except thou be more filthy than a swine, and altogether beastly.

Note.

Note.

He saith here, This is the law and the prophets. And (Matt. xxii.) he saith, Thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; and, as Mark addeth, with all thy might, and thy neighbour as thyself. In these two commandments hangeth the whole law and the prophets. And Paul (Rom. xiii. and Gal. v.) saith, that love is the fulfilling of the law. And it is written, that Christ is the fulfilling, or end of the law: to make all these agree, this thou must understand; that to love God purely is the final and uttermost end of all the law and the prophets. To love thy neighbour is the end of all laws that is between man and man; as are, kill not, steal not, bear no false witness, commit none adultery, covet not thy neighbour's wife, his house, ox, ass, maid, man-servant, nor aught that is his, &c. Christ

Law, what the fulfilling thereof is. The end of all laws between man and man is to love thy neighbour as thyself.

is the fulfilling of the law for us, where we be imperfect. And when we break and repent, his fulfilling is imputed unto us. And this text, this is the law and the prophets, mayest thou understand, as when Paul saith, Love is the fulfilling of the law. That is, to do as you wouldest be done to, is all the law that is between thee and thy neighbour; and that according to the true understanding and interpreting of all true prophets.

Enter in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many they be that go in thereat. But strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few they be that find it.

Strait gate.

The strait gate is the true knowledge and understanding of the law, and of the true intent of works. Which, whosoever understandeth, the same shall be driven to Christ to fetch of his fulness, and to take him for his righteousness and fulfilling of the law, altogether at the beginning, and as oft as we fall afterward, and for more than the thousandth part of our fulfilling of the law and righteousness of our best works all our life long. For except the righteousness of Christ be knit to the best deed we do, it will be too short to reach to heaven.

The narrow way.

And the narrow way is to live after this knowledge. He that will enter in at this gate, must be made anew: his head will else be too great, he must be untaught all that he hath learned, to be made less for to enter in; and disused in all things to which he hath been accustomed, to be made less to walk through that narrow way. Where he shall find such an heap of temptations and so continual, that it shall be impossible to endure or to stand, but by prayer of strong faith.

Few find the narrow way, and why.

And note another, that few find the way. Why? for their own wisdom, their own power, and the reasons of their own sophistry, blind them utterly. That is to say,

the light of their own doctrine which is in them, is so extreme darkness that they cannot see. Should God let his church err (say they)? Should our elders have gone out of the way? Should God have let the devil do these miracles, and so forth? And when Christ saith, few shall find the gate; yea, say they, in respect of the Turks and Saracens which are the greater multitude. Yea, but yet hear a little; the scribes and pharisees, which had all the authority over the people, and taught out of the Scripture, and the sadducees, with all other false prophets that were when Christ came, were no Turks nor Saracens; neither had God any other church than was among them. And St. Peter prophesieth that it shall be so among us, and that we shall be drawn with false sects of covetousness, to deny Christ, as we now do, and believe no more in him. And Paul and Christ confirm the same, that the elect should be deceived, if it were possible. Moreover, if it were enough to say, I will believe and do as mine elders have done, as though they could not err; then was Christ to blame for to say, that except thou forsake father, mother, and thine elders, thou couldest not be his disciple. Christ must be thy master, and thou must be taught of God; and therefore oughtest thou to examine the doctrine of thine elders by the word of God. For the great multitude that Christ meaneth are the false prophets and them that follow them: as it shall better appear hereafter.

Peter.

Paul.
Christ.

Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing; but are within ravening wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them. Do men gather grapes of thorns, either figs of briers? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, nor a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is to be hewn down and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

Here Christ warneth thee, and describeth unto thee, those captains that should so blind the great multitude (that they should not find the strait gate) and lead them the broad way to perdition. Note first, that though they be false, yet he calleth them prophets, which word in the new Testament is taken for an expounder and an interpreter of Scripture. And he saith, they shall come to you, my disciples, then they must be our preachers and our doctors. Yea, verily, they must be those our false preachers which Peter prophesied should be among us, and bring in damnable sects, for to fulfil and satisfy their covetousness, and follow the way and steps of their father Baalam. And they shall come thereto in sheep's clothing: ergo, they be neither the Turks nor yet Saracens. For they come clothed in iron and steel, and will thereto suffer us to keep our faith, if we will submit ourselves to them, as the Greeks do. And as for the Jews, they be an hundred times fewer than we, and are every where in bondage, yea, and for the great part captives unto us. They also be not clothed in sheep's skins, but maintain openly their faith clean contrary to ours.

The false prophets, who.

But what are these sheep's clothings? truly the very name of Christ. For saith Christ, (Matt. xxiv.) There shall come many in my name and deceive many. And besides that, they shall do miracles in Christ's name; as it followeth in the text, that they shall call Christ, Master, Master, and begin their sermon saying: Our master Christ saith in such a chapter, whatsoever ye bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven; see friends, these be not our words, but our master Christ's. And they shall do miracles in Christ's name thereto, to confirm the false doctrine which they preach in his name. O, fearful and terrible judgment of almighty God, and sentence of extreme rigorousness upon all that love not the truth (when it is preached them) that God to avenge himself of their unkindness, shall send them so strong delusions, that doctrine should be preached unto them in the name of Christ,

Sheep's clothing, what it meaneth.

and made seem to follow out of his words and be confirmed with miracles done in calling upon the name of Christ, to harden their hearts in the faith of lies, according to the prophecy of Paul to the Thessalonians in the second epistle.

2 Thess. ii.

Sheep's clothing.

Another of their sheep's coats is, that they shall in every sermon preach mightily against the scribes and pharisees, against Faustus and Pelagius with such like heretics; which yet never preached other doctrine than they themselves do. And more of their clothing is, they shall preach that Christ preached; alms, prayer, and fasting; and profess obedience, poverty, and chastity; works that our Saviour Christ both preached and did. Finally, they be holy church and cannot err.

Ravening wolves.

But they be within ravening wolves. They preach to other, Steal not; yet they themselves rob God of his honour, and take from him the praise and profit of all their doctrine and of all their works. They rob the law of God of her mighty power, wherewith she driveth all men to Christ, and make her so weak, that the feeble freewill of man is not able to wrestle with her without calling to Christ for help.

They have robbed Christ of all his merits, and clothed themselves therewith. They have robbed the soul of man of the bread of her life, the faith and trust in Christ's blood; and have fed her with the shales and cods of the hope in their merits, and confidence in their good works.

They have robbed the works commanded by God, of the intent and purpose that they were ordained for. And with their obedience they have drawn themselves from under the obedience of all princes and temporal laws. With their poverty, they have robbed all nations and kingdoms, and so with their wilful poverty have enriched themselves, and have made the commons poor. With their chastity they have filled all the world full of whores and sodomites, thinking to please God more highly with keeping of

The obedience, poverty, and wilful chastity of our spiritualty.

an whore than an honest chaste wife. If they say it is not truth, then all the world knoweth they lie, for if a priest marry an honest wife, they punish him immediately, and say, he is an heinous heretic, as though matrimony were abominable. But if he keep a whore, then is he a good chaste child of their holy father the pope, whose ensample they follow, and I warrant him sing mass on the next day after, as well as he did before, without either persecution or excommunication, such are the laws of their unchaste (I would say their own chaste) father.

If thou profess obedience, why runnest thou from father, mother, master and ruler (which God biddeth thee to obey) to be a friar? If thou obey, why obeyest thou not the king and his law, by whom God defendeth thee both in life and goods, and all thy great possessions?

Poverty. If thou profess poverty, what doest thou with the lands of gentlemen, squires, knights, barons, earls, and dukes? What, should a lord's brother be a beggar's servant? or what should a beggar ride with three or four score horses waiting on him. Is it meet that a man of noble birth, and the right heir of the lands which thou possessest, should be thine horse keeper, thou being a beggar?

Chastity. If ye profess chastity, why desire ye above all other men the company of women? What do ye with whores openly in many countries, and with secret dispensations to keep concubines? Why corrupt ye so much other men's wives? and why be there so many sodomites among you?

Charity. Your charity is merciless to the rest of the world to whom ye may give nought again, and only liberal to yourselves (as is the charity of thieves) thirty or forty of you together in one den: among which yet are not many that love three of his neighbours heartily.

Fasting. Your fasting maketh you as full and as fat as your hides can hold, beside that ye have a dispensation of your holy father for your fasting.

Prayer. Your prayer is but pattering without all affection, your singing is but roaring to stretch out your maws (as do

your other gestures and rising at midnight) to make the meat sink to the bottom of the stomach, that he may have perfect digestion, and be ready to devour afresh against the next refection.

Thorns bear no figs.

Ye shall know them by their fruits. First, thorns bear no grapes, nor briars figs. Also if thou see goodly blossoms in them, and thinkest there to have figs, grapes, or any fruit for the sustenance or comfort of man, go to them in time of need, and thou shalt find nought at all. Thou shalt find, forsooth I have no goods, nor any thing proper, or that is mine own. It is the convent's. I were a thief if I gave it my father, whatsoever need he had. It is St. Edmund's patrimony, St. Alban's patrimony, St. Edward's patrimony, the goods of holy church, it may not be minished, nor occupied upon lay and prophane uses. The king of the realm for all that he defendeth them above all other, yet getteth he nought, what need soever he have, save then only, when he must spend on their causes, all that they give, with all that he can get beside of his poor commons. If the king will attempt to take ought from them by the authority of his office, for the defence of the realm; or if any man will entreat them otherwise than they lust themselves, by what law or right it be, they turn to thorns and briars, and wax at once rougher than a hedgehog, and will sprinkle them with the holy water of their maledictions as thick as hail, and breathe out the lightening of excommunication upon them, and so consume them to powder.

The answer of cloisterers to such as shall desire relief at their hands.

A corrupt tree beareth no good fruit.

Moreover a corrupt tree can bear no good fruit. That is, where they have fruit that seemeth to be good, go to and prove it, and thou shalt find it rotten, or the kernel eaten out, and that it is but as a hollow nut. For faith in Christ (that we and all our works done within the compass of the law of God, be accepted to God for his sake) is the kernel, the sweetness and the pleasant beauty of all our works in the sight of God. As it is written, (John vi.) This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he

Faith is the kernel of all our good fruits.

hath sent. This faith is a work which God not only worketh in us, but also hath therein pleasure and delectation, and in all other for that faith's sake.

Faith is the life of man, as it is written, *Justus ex fide vivit*, out of which life the pleasantness of all his works spring. As for an ensample, thou art a shoe-maker, which is a work within the laws of God, and sayest in thine heart, Lo, God, here I make a shoe as truly as I would for myself, to do my neighbour service, and to get my living in truth with the labour of mine hands, as thou commandest, and thank thee that thou hast given me this craft, and makest it lucky that I get my living therewith, and am fully persuaded that both I and my work please thee, O Father for thy Son Jesus' sake; Lo, now this faith hath made this simple work pleasant in the sight of God.

Faith maketh the work good and acceptable.

Another ensample, thou takest a wife, and sayest, O Father, thou not only permittest this, but also commandest all that burn and have their minds unquieted, to marry for fear of fornication, and so forth. And Father, I promise thee to love this woman truly, and to care for her, and govern her after thy laws, and to be true to her, and to stand by her in all adversities, and to take in worth as well the evil as the good, and to bring up the fruit that thou shalt give me of her, in thy fear, and teach it to know thee.

An example how thy work or deed may be pleasant and acceptable before God.

Moreover as concerning the act of matrimony, as when thou wilt eat, thou blessest God, and receivest thy daily food of his hand, according to the fourth petition of thy paternoster, and knowledgest that it is his gift, and thankest him, believing his word, that he hath created it for thee to receive it with thanks, by the which word and prayer of thanks, thy meat and drink is sanctified. (1 Tim. iv.) Even so thou sayest, Father, this I do, not only at thy permission, which is enough to please thee withal, but also at thy commandment, and have bound myself hereunto, to keep my soul from sinning against thee, and to help my

neighbour that he sin not also, and promise thee to keep this profession truly, and to nourish the fruit that thou shalt give me, in the fear of thee, and in the faith of thy Son Jesus, and so thankest the Lord for his gifts. Now is thy work through this faith and thanks pleasant and acceptable in the sight of God. And so was the gendering of Jacob in faith, and of Samuel, and many other. And the giving such was a good work, and so was the dressing of them by the fire. And when our lady conceived Christ through faith, was not that a good work? What if God when she doubted and asked (by what manner she could conceive him) had commanded her to conceive him of Joseph or of some other man, had not that work done in obedience and faith, been as good a work?

The will that Abraham had to slay Isaac, and all that he did till he came at the very point to slay him, were good works, and so had been the slaying also. And Abraham was sure that he pleased God highly, and as well as in any other work, and had as deeply sinned if he had been disobedient therein, as though he had done any other cruel deed forbidden by God. Yea, but shoe-making is not commanded by God. Yes, and hath the promise of God annexed thereto. For God hath commanded me, for the avoiding of sin, to do my brethren service, and to live thereby, and to choose one estate or other (for if thou wouldest receive only of thy brethren, and do nought again, thou were a thief, and an extortioner, and a tyrant.) And I choose shoe-making, or receive it at the obedience of mine elders. Now have I God's commandment to work therein truly, and his promise annexed thereto, that he will bless mine occupation, and make it lucky and fruitful to bring me an honest living. Work I not now at God's commandment, and have his promise that it pleaseth him?

Handy crafts are the commandment of God.

Note this also: First, my craft is God's commandment. Secondarily, I believe, and am sure, that my work pleaseth God for Christ's sake. Thirdly, my work is profitable unto my neighbour, and helpeth his necessity. Fourthly,

I receive my reward of the hand of God with thanks, and work, surely certified that I please God in my work through Christ, and that God will give me my daily bread thereby.

But if thou examine their doctrine, thou shalt find that this faith is away in all their fruits, and therefore are they worm eaten and shells without kernels.

The Jews and Turks give alms as we do, yet for lack of faith it is abominable.

Note again: the Turks and Jews give alms as well as we, and as much, and yet abominable for lack of faith and knowledge of the true intent. What saith the text: He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall have the reward of a prophet. That is, because thou aidest him in preaching of Christ's word, thou shalt be partaker with him and have the same reward. And he that receiveth a disciple in the name of a disciple, shall have, &c. And he that giveth one of these little ones but a cup of cold water for my name's sake, shall have his reward. If a king minister his kingdom in the faith of this name, because his subjects be his brethren and the price of Christ's blood, he pleaseth God highly; and if this faith be not there, it pleaseth him not. And if I sew a shoe truly in the faith of his name, to do my brother service, because he is the price of Christ's blood, it pleaseth God. Thus is faith the goodness of all works.

God is as well pleased when we thankfully receive his benefits, as when we do give for his sake.

Finally, when God giveth, and I receive with thanks, is not God as well pleased as when I give for his sake, and he receiveth? A true friend is as glad to do his friend a good turn, as to receive a good turn. When the father giveth his son a new coat, and saith: Am not I a good father, and wilt not thou love me again, and do what I bid thee. And the boy receiveth it with thanks and faith, yea, and is glad and proud thereof; doth not the father rejoice as much now in the lad, as another time when the lad doth whatsoever it be at his father's commandment? But the false prophets do well to paint God after the likeness of their own visnomy: glad when he receiveth, yea when they receive in his name. But sour, grudging, and evil

content when he giveth again. But thou pleasest God when thou askest in faith, and when thou receivest with thanks, and when thou rejoicest in his gifts, and lovest him again, to keep his commandments, and the appointment and covenant made between him and thee.

Hypocrites extol their own works to destroy the works of God.

And for a conclusion, besides, that they expel faith, which is the goodness of all works, they set up works of their own making, to destroy the works of God, and to be holier than God's works, to the despising of God's works, and to make God's works vile.

With their chastity they destroy the chastity that God ordained, and only requireth. With their obedience they destroy the obedience that God ordained in this world, and desireth no other. With their poverty they destroy the poverty of the Spirit, which Christ taught only; which is, only not to love worldly goods. With their fast, they destroy the fast which God commandeth, that is, a perpetual soberness to tame the flesh. With their pattering prayer, they destroy the prayer taught by God, which is either thanks, or desiring help with faith, and trust that God heareth me.

The holiness of hypocrites, wherein it is.

Their holiness is to forbid that God ordained to be received with thanksgiving, as meat and matrimony. And their own works they maintain, and let God's decay. Break theirs, and they persecute to the death. But break God's, and they either look through the fingers, or else give thee a flap with a fox tail for a little money. There is none order among them that is so perfect but that they have a prison more cruel than any jail of thieves and murderers. And if one of their brethren commit fornication or adultery in the world, he finisheth his penance therein in three weeks or a month, and then is sent to another place of the same religion. But if he attempt to put off the holy habit, he cometh never out, and is so straitly dieted thereto, that it is marvel if he live a year; beside other cruel murder that hath been found among

Ask the Austin Friars why they murdered one of their fellows at London.

them, and yet is this shameful dieting of theirs murder cruel enough.

Be not deceived with visions, nor yet with miracles. But go to and judge their works, for the spiritual judgeth all things, saith Paul, (1 Cor. ii.) Who is that spiritual? Not such as we now call men of holy church; but all that have the true interpretation of the law written in their hearts. The right faith of Christ, and the true intent of works, which God biddeth us work, he is spiritual and judged all things, and is judged of no man.

Who is the spirituality.

Not all that say to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that fulfilleth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many will say unto me at that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in thy name? and in thy name cast out devils? and did we not in thy name many miracles? Then will I confess unto them, I never knew you, depart from me, ye workers of iniquity.

This doubling of Lord hath vehemency, and betokeneth that they which shall be excluded, are such as think themselves better and perfecter than other men, and to deserve heaven with holy works, not for themselves only, but also for other. And by that they prophesied, by which thou mayest understand the interpreting of Scripture; and by that they cast out devils, and did miracles in Christ's name, (and for all that, they are yet works of wickedness, and do not the will of the Father which is in heaven,) it is plain that they be false prophets, and even the same of which Christ warned before.

Ignorance excuseth not, if we will not see.

And now, forasmuch as Christ and his apostles warn us that such shall come, and describe us the fashions of their visors, (Christ's name, holy church, holy fathers, and fifteen hundred years, with Scripture and miracles,) and command us to turn our eyes from their visors, and consider their fruits, and cut them up, and look within

whether they be found in the core and kernel or no, and give us a rule to try them by: is it excuse good enough to say, God will not let so great a multitude err; I will follow the most part, and believe as my fathers did, and as the preachers teach, and will not busy myself: choose them, the fault is theirs, and not ours; God shall not lay it to our charge if we err.

False prophets, how to know where they be.

Where such words be, there are the false prophets already. For where no love to the truth is, there are the false prophets; and where such words be, there to be no love to the truth is plain; ergo, where such words be, there be the false prophets in their full swing, by Paul's rule, (2 Thess. ii.) Another conclusion: where no love to the truth is, there be false prophets; the greatest of the world have least love to the truth: ergo, the false prophets be the chaplains of the greatest, which may with the sword compel the rest; as the kings of Israel compelled to worship the golden calves. And by false prophets understand false teachers, as Peter calleth them, and wicked expounders of the Scripture.

Whosoever heareth these words of me, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man that built his house upon a rock: and there fell a rain, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, but it fell not, for it was grounded upon a rock. And all that hear of me these words, and do them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man that built his house upon the sand: and there fell a rain, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and dashed upon that house, and it fell, and the fall thereof was great.

Believers without works, and workers without faith are built on sand.

Christ hath two sorts of hearers, of which neither of them do thereafter. The one will be saved by faith of their own making, without works; the other with works of their own making, without faith. The first are those voluptuous, which have yielded themselves up to sin, say-

ing, Tush, God is merciful, and Christ died for us; that must save us only, for we cannot but sin without resistance. The second are the hypocrites, which will deserve all with their own imagined works only. And of faith they have no other experience, save that it is a little meritorious where it is painful to be believed: as that Christ was born of a virgin, and that he came not out the way that other children do; fie, no, that were a great inconvenience; but above, under her arm, and yet made no hole, though he had a very natural body, and as other men have; and that there is no bread in the sacrament nor wine, though the five wits say all yea. And the meritorious pain of this belief is so heavy to them, that except they had feigned them a thousand wise similitudes and lousy likenesses, and as many mad reasons to stay them withal, and to help to captivate their understanding, they were like to cast all off their backs. And the only refuge of a great many to keep in that faith, is to cast it out of their minds, and not to think upon it. As though they forgive not, yet if they put the displeasure out of their minds, and think not of it till a good occasion be given to avenge it, they think they love their neighbour well enough all the while, and be in good charity.

The papists have that faith in their own works which they should have in Jesus Christ.

And the faith of the best of them is but like their faith in other worldly stories. But the faith, which is trust and confidence to be saved, and to have their sins forgiven by Christ which was so born, have they not at all. That faith have they in their own works only. But the true hearers understand the law, as Christ interpreteth it here, and feel thereby their righteous damnation, and run to Christ for succour, and for remission of all their sins that are past, and for all the sin which chance, through infirmities, shall compel them to do, and for remission of that the law is too strong for their weak nature.

Faith, what it breedeth.

And upon that they consent to the law, love it, and profess it, to fulfil it to the uttermost of their power, and then go to and work. Faith, or confidence in Christ's

blood, without help, and before the works of the law bringeth all manner of remission of sins, and satisfaction.

Love. Faith is mother of love; faith accompanieth love in all her works to fulfil as much as there lacketh in our doing the law, of that perfect love which Christ had to his Father, and us in his fulfilling of the law for us. Now, when we be reconciled, then is love and faith together our righteousness, our keeping the law, our continuing, our proceeding forward in the grace which we stand in, and our bringing to the everlasting saving and everlasting life. And the works be esteemed of God according to the love of the heart. If the works be great, and love little and cold, then the works be regarded thereafter of God. If the works be small, and love much and fervent, the works be taken for great of God.

And it came to pass, that when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine: for he taught them as one having power, and not as the scribes.

The scribes and pharisees had thrust up the sword of the word of God into a scabbard, or sheath of glosses, and therein had knit it fast, that it could neither stick nor cut; teaching dead works without faith and love, which are the life and the whole goodness of all works, and the only thing why they please God. And therefore their audience abode ever carnal and fleshly minded, without faith to God and love to their neighbours.

Christ's words were spirit and life. (John vi.) That is to say, they ministered spirit and life, and entered into the heart, and grated on the conscience; and, through preaching the law, made the hearers perceive their duties; even what love they owed to God, and what to man, and the right damnation of all them that had not the love of God and man written in their hearts; and, through preaching of faith, made all that consented to the law of God feel the mercy of God in Christ, and certified them

of their salvation. For the word of God is a two-edged sword, that pierceth and divideth the spirit and soul of man asunder. (Heb. iv.) A man, before the preaching of God's word, is but one man, all flesh, the soul consenting unto the lusts of the flesh, to follow them. But the sword of the word of God, where it taketh effect, divideth a man in two, and setteth him at variance against his ownself; the flesh hauling one way, and the spirit drawing another: the flesh raging to follow lusts, and the spirit calling back again to follow the law and will of God. A man, all the while he consenteth to the flesh, and before she be born again in Christ, is called soul or carnal. But when he is renewed in Christ, through the word of life, and hath the love of God and of his neighbour, and the faith of Christ written in his heart, he is called spirit or spiritual. The Lord of all mercy send us preachers with power: that is to say, true expounders of the word of God, and speakers to the heart of man; and deliver us from scribes, pharisees, hypocrites, and all false prophets. Amen.

The word of God, where it taketh effect, divideth a man into two parts; that is, causeth the flesh to hold one way, and the spirit to draw another.

THE

EXPOSITION

OF THE

FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN.

THE PROLOGUE.

Except a man have the profession of his baptism in his heart, he cannot understand the Scripture.

As a man can by no means read except he be first taught the letters of the cross row; even so it is impossible for a man, of whatsoever degree or name he be of, to understand aught in the Scripture unto the honour of God, and health of his soul, except he be first taught the profession of his baptism, and have it also written in his heart.

We must first learn the profession of our baptism.

Which profession standeth in two things: the one is the knowledge of God, understanding it spiritually, as Christ expoundeth it Matt. v. vi. and vii., so that the root and life of all laws be this: Love thy Lord God with all thine heart, all thy soul, and all thy might; and thy neighbour as thyself, for his sake: and that love only is the fulfilling of the law (as Paul teacheth), and that whatsoever deed we do, and not of that love, that same fulfilleth no law in the sight of God.

The profession of our baptism, what it is.

And the other is, to know the promises of mercy which are in our Saviour Christ: understanding them also purely without all leaven, after the mercifullest fashion as Scripture

Gospel.

soundeth them, and after all fatherly love and kindness of God, unto all that repent toward the law, and believe in Christ.

All our sins for Jesus Christ's sake, and for his death and passion are clearly forgiven.

And to have this profession written in thine heart, is to consent unto the law that it is righteous and good, and to love it in thine heart, and to submit thyself thereunto for to learn it, and to rule and square all thy deeds thereby; and then to believe in Christ, that for his sake all thy sins, which thou diddest before the knowledge of this profession, are forgiven thee clearly, both *a pœna et culpæ*, to use the pope's terms, and that for none other satisfaction to Godward than Christ's blood; and even so, that all the sin which we do after this knowledge, either of chance, ignorance, infirmity, negligence, or provoked and overcome of the flesh, is forgiven us likewise, both *pœna et culpa*, through repentance and faith in Christ, without our satisfaction of works to godward.

Every Christian man must reconcile himself unto his brother.

Notwithstanding we being all sons of one God, and servants of one Christ, must agree among ourselves; and he that hath offended must meekly knowledge his fault, and offer himself to make amends unto the utmost of his power; and if he have not wherewith, ask forgiveness for Christ's sake, the other is bound to forgive him. Neither, without reconciling himself unto his brother, may any man be at the first received unto the profession of Christ's faith, nor continue therein, nor be received in again, if he be for his open offences put thereout. For how can a

man love his neighbour as well as himself, and be sorry that he hath hurt him, except he should offer himself to make amends?

And we must, from henceforth, walk in the life of penance, (if ye will have it so called,) and after the doctrine of Christ, every man tame his flesh with prayer, fasting, and the continual meditations of Christ's penance and passions for us, and of the holy saints; and with such abstinence and kind of living as every man thinketh most meet for his complexion; the younger confessing their infirmities to the elder, discreeter, and better learned, and asking their advice and wholesome counsel for the repressing of their diseases, but all to tame the flesh, and to serve thy neighbour without any superstitious mind.

The right penance is repentance of sin and amendment of life.

All our life must tend to this end, to tame our flesh and serve our neighbour.

But to Godward is there no satisfaction, save faith in Christ's blood, out of a repenting heart. For our outward deeds cannot be referred unto God, to do him service in his own person, and to help him, or make him better therewith. We can do no more with them, were they never so perfect, and done with all love, than satisfy the law for the present time, and do our duty unto our neighbours, and tame our own flesh, but not to make satisfaction to God for sin that is once past. The sin that is once committed must God forgive freely of a fatherly love for Christ's sake.

Faith in Christ's blood, with a repentant heart, is the only satisfaction that we can make towards God.

When God visiteth us with sickness, poverty, or whatsoever adversity it be, he doth it not of a tyrannous mind, to satisfy his lust in our suffer-

The father of love correcteth the child.

ing of evil, to make satisfaction for the sin that is past, of which we repent and be sorry; but of a fatherly love, to make us know ourselves and feel his mercy, and to tame our flesh, and to keep us from sinning again. As no natural father punisheth his child because he delighteth in tormenting of him, to take satisfaction for the sin that is past; but first teacheth kindly, and suffereth, and forgiveth once or twice; and then at the last, when he seeth the body so wanton that the child cannot continue in the right way for the rage of wild lusts, he beateth, to subdue the flesh only, and to tame it, that the doctrine of the father may have her due course in the heart of the child, and should not be choked with lusts.

God, as a loving Father, careth for us, and gently correcteth us to keep us in the right way.

Even so is it of God: if any of his children that have professed his law, and the faith of our Saviour, be negligent to tame his flesh with prayer, fasting, and good deeds after the doctrine of Christ, he will surely scourge him, to bring him into the right way again, and to keep him, that the doctrine of his soul's health perish not in him. But he taketh not his mercy from us, nor thinketh on the sin that is past, after that we repent and be full converted, but absolveth us both *a pœna et culpa*, for Christ's sake; and is as mighty and as merciful to do it for Christ's sake, as the pope for money; besides that he hath promised mercifully so to do.

The knowledge of our baptism is the key and the light of the Scripture.

To understand our baptism is to understand the law and the gospel.

AND again, as he which knoweth his letters well, and can spell perfectly, cannot but read if he be diligent: and as he which hath clear eyes without impediment or let, and walketh thereto in the light and open day, cannot but see, if he attend and take heed; even so whosoever hath the profession of baptism written in his heart, cannot but understand the Scripture, if he exercise himself therein, and compare one place to another, and mark the manner of speech, and ask here and there the meaning of a sentence, of them that be better exercised.

The key and light of the Scripture.

For as the doctrine which we should be taught before we were baptized, and for lack of age is deferred unto the years of discretion, is the key that bindeth and looseth, locketh and unlocketh, the conscience of all sinners; even so that lesson, where it is understood, is only the key that openeth all the Scripture, and even the whole Scripture in itself gathered together in a narrow compass, and brought into a compendiousness. And till thou be taught that lesson, that thine heart feel the sweetness of it, the Scripture is locked and shut up from thee, and so dark that thou couldest not understand it, though Peter, Paul, or Christ himself did expound it unto thee, no more than a blind man can see, though thou set a candle before him, or shewedst

him the sun, or pointedst with thy finger, unto that thou wouldest have him look upon.

How the Scripture is locked up from our understanding.

Now we be all baptized: but alas, not one, from the highest to the lowest, ever taught the profession or meaning thereof. And therefore we remain all blind generally, as well our great Rabbins for all their high learning which they seem to have, as the lay people: yea, and so much the more blind are our great clerks, that where the lay people for a great number of them are taught nought at all, they be all wrong taught, and the doctrine of their baptism is all corrupt unto them, with the leaven of false glosses, ere they come to read the Scripture. So that the light which they bring with them, to understand the Scripture withal, is utter darkness, and as contrary unto the Scripture as the devil unto Christ.

By reason whereof the Scripture is locked up and become so dark unto them, that they grope for the door, and can find no way in, and is become a maze unto them, in which they wander as in a mist, or (as we say) led by Robin Goodfellow, that they cannot come to the right way, no though they turn their caps; and the brightness thereof hath blinded their eyes with malice, so that though they believe not the Scripture to be false, yet they persecute the right understanding thereof, and cannot believe it true in the plain sense, which it speaketh to them in. It is become a turn-again lane unto them, which they cannot go through, nor make three lines

If we be not taught by God, we do but wander clean out of the way.

agree together. And finally the sentences of the Scripture are nothing but very riddles unto them, at the which they cast, as the blind man doth at the crow, and expound by guess, an hundred doctors an hundred ways, and one man in twenty sermons alleging one text after twenty fashions, having no sure doctrine to cleave unto, and all for lack of the right knowledge of the profession of our baptism.

He that hath the profession of his baptism written in his heart can be no heretic.

ANOTHER conclusion is this: as he which ever creepeth along by the ground and never climbeth cannot fall from an high; even so no man that hath the profession of his baptism written in his heart, can stumble in the Scripture, and fall unto heresies, or become a maker of division and sects, and a defender of wild and vain opinions. For the whole and only cause of heresies and sects is pride.

He that understandeth the profession of his baptism, can be no heretic.

Now the law of God truly interpreted robbeth all them in whose hearts it is written, and maketh them as bare as Job of all things whereof a man can be moved to pride. And on the other side, they have utterly forsaken themselves with all their high learning and wisdom, and are become the servants of Christ only which hath bought them with his blood, and have promised in their hearts unfeignedly to follow him and to take him only for the author of their religion, and his

The Scripture teacheth low lives, and hateth pride.

doctrine only for their wisdom and learning, and to maintain it in word and deed, and so keep it pure, and to build no strange doctrine thereupon, and to be at the highest never, but fellow with their brethren, and in that fellowship to wax ever lower and lower, and every day more fervent than other, unto his weaker brethren, after the example and image of Christ, and after his commandment and ordinance, and not in feigned words of the pope.

The Scripture maketh no heretics.

This he said because of them that say that the Scripture maketh men heretics, and corrupteth with false opinions contrary unto the profession of their baptism; and the light wherewith they should expound the Scripture is turned into darkness in their hearts, and the door of the Scripture locked, and the wells stopped up ere they come at it.

And therefore because their darkness cannot comprehend the light of Scripture, as it is written, (John i.) The light shined in darkness but the darkness could not comprehend it; they turn it into blind riddles and read it without understanding, as lay men do our lady mattins, or as it were Merlin's prophecies, ever their minds are upon their heresies. And when they come to a place that soundeth like, there they rest, and wring out wonderful expositions to stablish their heresies withal, after the tale of the boy that would fain have eaten of the pasty lampries, but durst not until the bells sang unto him, Sit down Jack boy, and eat of the lamprey:

If God lighten not our hearts we read the Scripture in vain.

to stablish his wavering conscience withal. Is it not a great blindness to say in the beginning of all together, that the whole Scripture is false in the literal sense, and killeth the soul. Which pestilent heresy to prove, they abuse the text of Paul saying: The letter killeth: because that text was become a riddle unto them and they understood it not. When Paul by this word letter understood the law given by Moses to condemn all consciences, and to rob them of all righteousness, to compel them unto the promises of mercy that are in Christ.

The law condemneth to drive us to faith in Christ's death.

Heresy springeth not of the Scripture, no more than darkness of the sun, but is a dark cloud that springeth out of the blind hearts of hypocrites, and covereth the face of the Scripture, and blindeth their eyes that they cannot behold the bright beams of the Scripture.

Heresy springeth out of the hearts of hypocrites.

The whole and sum then of all together is this. If our hearts were taught the appointment made between God and us in Christ's blood when we were baptised, we had the key to open the Scripture, and light to see and perceive the true meaning of it, and the Scripture should be easy to understand. And because we be not taught that profession, is the cause why the Scripture is so dark, and so far passing our capacity. And the cause why our expositions are heresies, is because we be wrong taught, and corrupt with false opinions beforehand, and made heretics ere we come at the Scripture, and have corrupt it, and it not us; as the taste of the sick maketh

wholesome and well seasoned meat bitter, weerish and unsavoury. Nevertheless yet the Scripture abideth pure in herself and bright, so that he which is sound in the faith, shall at once perceive that the judgment of the heretics is corrupt in their expositions, as an whole man doth feel at once even with smelling to the meat that the taste of the sick is infected. And with the Scripture shall they ever improve heresies and false expositions, for the Scripture purgeth herself, even as the water once in the year casteth all filthiness unto the sides. Which to be true ye see by the authority of Paul, (2 Tim. iii.) saying: All the Scripture was given of God by inspiration, and is good to teach withal, to improve, and so forth. And by the example of Christ and the apostles, how they confounded the Jews with the same Scripture which they had corrupt, and understood them amiss after their own darkness, and as ye see by the example of us now also, how we have manifestly improved the hypocrites in an hundred texts which they had corrupt to prove their false opinion brought in besides the Scripture, and have driven them off. And they be fled and openly confess unto their shame, that they have no Scripture, and sing another song, and say they received them by the mouth of the apostles. Unto which stopping oyster, I answer here grossly, seeing they are answered before. That as he were a fool, which would trust him to tell his money in his absence that hath picked his purse before his face;

He that is sound in faith shall easily attain to the true sense of the Scripture.

The papist's unwritten verities are not to be credited.

even so, sith ye have corrupt the open Scripture before our eyes, and taken with the manner, that ye cannot deny, we were mad to believe that which hath lien fifteen hundred years, as ye say, in your rotten maws, should now be wholesome for us, ye have chewed and mingled it with your poison spittle. Can ye bear us in hand, and persuade us, think ye, with your sophistry, to believe that ye should minister your secret traditions without ground truly, when we see you minister the open Scripture falsely? Can ye bewitch our wits with your poetry, to believe that ye should minister your secret traditions for our profit, when we see you corrupt the open Scripture to the loss of our souls, for your profit? Nay, it is an hundred times more likely that ye should be false in secret things than in open. And therefore in the very sacraments which the Scripture testifieth, that Christ himself ordained, them we must have an eye unto your hand how ye minister them. And as we restore the Scripture unto her right understanding from your false glosses, even so deliver we the sacraments and ceremonies unto their right use from your abuse. And that must we do with the Scripture, which can corrupt no man that cometh thereto with a meek spirit, seeking there only to fashion himself like Christ, according to the profession and vow of our baptism. But contrariwise, he shall there find the mighty power of God, to alter him, and change him in the inner man, a little and little in process, until he be full

The papists have corrupted the Scripture, and abused the Sacraments.

shapen after the image of our Saviour, in knowledge, and love of all truth, and power to work thereafter.

The Scripture is the life of God's elect.

Finally then, forasmuch as the Scripture is the light and life of God's elect, and that mighty power wherewith God created them, and shapeth them, after the similitude, likeness, and very fashion of Christ; and therefore sustenance, comfort, and strength to courage them, that they may stand fast, and endure, and merrily bear their souls' health, wherewith the lust of the flesh subdued and killed, and the spirit mollified and made soft, to receive the print of the image of our Saviour Jesus. And as much as the Scripture is so pure of itself that it can corrupt no man, but the wicked only, which are infect before hand, and ere they come at it, corrupt it with the heresies they bring with them. And forasmuch as the complaint of the hypocrites, that the Scripture maketh heretics, is vain and feigned, and the reasons wherewith they would prove that the lay people ought not to read the Scripture, false, wicked, and the fruit of rotten trees:—therefore are they faithful servants of Christ and faithful ministers and dispensers of his doctrine, and true hearted toward their brethren, which have given themselves up into the hand of God, and put themselves in jeopardy of all persecution, their very life despised, and have translated the Scripture purely and with good conscience, submitting themselves, and desiring them that can, to amend their translation, or (if it please them) to translate it themselves, after their best manner, yea,

Hypocrites say that the Scripture maketh heretics.

and let them sew to their glosses, as many as they think they can make cleave thereto, and then put other men's translations out of the way.

The translation of the Scripture is not sufficient only, but it must be well taught that the people may have the true sense.

Howbeit, though God hath so wrought with them that a great part is translated, yet as it is not enough that the father and mother have both begot the child and brought it into this world, except they care for it and bring it up till it can help itself; even so it is not enough to have translated, though it were the whole Scripture into the vulgar and common tongue, except we also brought again the light to understand it by, and expel that dark cloud which the hypocrites have spread over the face of the Scripture, to blind the right sense and true meaning thereof. And therefore at their diverse introductions ordained for you, to teach you the profession of your baptism, the only light of the Scripture; one upon the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, and another called, The Pathway into the Scripture. And for the same cause, have I taken in hand to interpret this Epistle of St. John the Evangelist to edify the layman and to teach him how to read the Scripture, and what to seek therein, and that he may have to answer the hypocrites and to stop their mouths withal.

Introductions made to bring you to the true understanding of the Scripture.

And first, understand that all the Epistles that the apostles wrote are the gospel of Christ, though all that is the gospel be not an epistle. It is called a gospel, that is to say, glad tidings, because it is an open preaching of Christ; and an epistle, because it is sent as a letter or a bill to them that are absent.

THE EXPOSITION

OF THE

FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN.

Here beginneth the First Epistle of St. John.

CHAPTER ONE.

1 John 1. *THAT which was from the beginning declare we unto you, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life. For the life appeared, and we have seen, and bear witness, and shew unto you that everlasting life, which was with the Father, and appeared unto us.*

St. John witnesseth that Christ is very God.

IN that St. John saith, The thing which was from the beginning, and the everlasting life that was with the Father, he witnesseth that Christ is very God, as he doth in the beginning of his gospel, saying: The word or the thing was at the beginning, and the thing was with God, and that thing was God, and all things were made by it.

That Christ is very man.

And when he saith, Which we heard, and saw with our eyes, and our hands handled him; he testifieth that Christ is very man also, as he doth in the beginning of his gospel, saying: The word, or that thing was made flesh, that is, became man. And thus we have in plain and open words, a manifest article of our faith, that our Saviour Christ is very God and very man.

Which article, whosoever not only believeth, but also believeth in it, the same is the son of God, and hath

everlasting life in him, and shall never come into condemnation: as it is written, John. i. He gave them power to be the sons of God, in that they believed in his name. And (John iii.) He that believeth in the Son, hath everlasting life. And a little before in the said Chapter: He that believeth in him shall not be condemned. And to believe in the words of this article is that eating of Christ's flesh, and drinking his blood, of which is spoken, John vi. The words which I speak are spirit and life, and the flesh profiteth not all, meaning of the fleshly eating of his body, and fleshly drinking of his blood. There is therefore great difference between believing that there is a God, and that Christ is God and man; and to believe in God, and Christ God and man; and in the promises of mercy that are in him. The first is common to good and bad, and unto the devils thereto, and is called the faith and belief of the history. The second is proper unto the sons of God and is their life, as it is written: The righteous liveth by faith, that is, in putting his trust, confidence, and whole hope in the goodness, mercy and help of God, in all adversities, bodily and ghostly, and all temptations, and even in sin and hell, how deep soever he be fallen therein.

He that believeth that Christ is the Son of God, and also very man, hath everlasting life.

To believe in Christ.

To believe that Christ is God and man, is to put all our trust, hope, and confidence in him.

But, as he which feeleth not his disease, can long for no health, even so it is impossible for any man to believe in Christ's blood, except Moses have had him first in cure, and with his law have robbed him of his righteousness, and condemned him unto everlasting death, and have shewed him under what damnation they are in by birth in Adam, and how all their deeds (appear they never so holy) are yet but damnable sin, because they can refer nothing unto the glory of God, but seek themselves their own profit, honour and glory. So that repentance toward the law must go before this belief, and he which repenteth not, but consenteth unto the life of sin, hath no part in this faith.

Moses.

And when John calleth Christ the everlasting life that

Christ is our life.

was with the Father, he signifieth that Christ is our life, as after in the epistle, and in the first also of his gospel, saying, In him was life. For until we receive life of Christ by faith, we are dead, and can be but dead, as saith John iii. He that believeth not in the Son, can see no life but the wrath of God abideth upon him. Of which wrath we are heirs by birth, saith Paul. (Eph. ii.) Of which wrath we are ignorant, until the law be published, and walk quietly after our lusts, and love God wickedly, that he should be content therewith, and maintain us therein contrary unto his godly and righteous nature. But as soon as the law (whose nature is to utter sin, Rom. iii., and to set man at variance with God) is preached, then we first awake out of our dream, and see our damnation, and have the law which is so contrary unto our nature, and grudge against God thereto, as young children do against their elders when they first command, and count God a cruel tyrant because of his law, in that he condemneth us for that thing which we cannot love, nor of love fulfil.

By nature we are the children of wrath.

The law condemneth us.

Christ.

But when Christ is preached, how that God for his sake receiveth us to mercy, and forgiveth us all that is past, and henceforth reckoneth not unto us our corrupt and poisoned nature, and taketh us as his sons, and putteth us under grace and mercy, and promiseth that he will not judge us by the rigourousness of the law, but nurture us with all mercy and patience, as a father most merciful. Only if we will submit ourselves unto his doctrine and learn to keep his laws. Yea, and he will thereto consider our weakness, and, whatsoever chanceth, never taketh away his mercy, till we cast off the yoke of our profession first, and run away with utter defiance, that we will never come more at school. Then our stubborn and hard hearts mollify and wax soft, and in the confidence and hope that we have in Christ, and his kindness, we go to God boldly as unto our father, and receive life, that is to say, love unto God and unto the law also.

If we submit ourselves to Christ, and knowledge our weakness he will of his great mercy receive us.

That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye may have fellowship with us, and that our fellowship may be with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ. And these things we write unto you that your joy may be full.

The touchstone of all true doctrine and preachers.

To bring unto the fellowship of God and Christ, and of them that believe in Christ, is the final intent of all the Scripture, why it was given of God unto man, and the only thing which all true preachers seek, and whereby ye shall ever know and discern the true word of God from all false and counterfeited doctrine of vain traditions, and the true preacher from the wily hypocrite. We preach unto you (saith John) the everlasting life which we have heard, and in hearing received through faith, and are sure of it, to draw you to us out of the fellowship that ye have with the damned devils in sinful lusts and ignorance of God, for we seek you and not your's, as saith Paul, (2 Cor. xii.) We love you as ourselves in God, and therefore would have you fellows, and equal with us, and build you upon the foundation laid of the apostles and prophets which is Christ Jesus, and make you of the household of God for ever, that ye, and we, fellows and brethren, and coupled together in one spirit, in one faith and in one hope, might have our fellowship thereby with God, and become his sons and heirs, and with Jesus Christ, being his brethren and co-heirs, and to make your joy full through that glad tidings, as the angel said unto the shepherds, (Luke ii.) Behold I shew you great joy that shall be unto all the people, how that there is a Saviour born unto you this day which is Christ the Lord. And these tidings we bring you with the word of God only which we received of his Spirit, and out of the mouth of his Son as true messengers.

The modest and charitable manner of St. Paul's doctrine.

We preach not ourselves, but Christ our Lord, and us your servants for his sake: we do not love ourselves, to

St. Paul preached Christ and not himself.

seek yours unto us, that after we had, with wiles, robbed you of all ye have, we should exalt ourselves over you and separate ourselves from you, and make ourselves a several kingdom, free and frank, reigning over you as heathen tyrants, and holding you in bondage to serve our lucre and lusts, tangling your conscience with doctrine of man which draweth from God and Christ, and fearing you with the bug of excommunication against God's word. Or, if that served not, shaking a sword at you.

And this is the tidings which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. If we say that we have fellowship with him, and yet walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth. But and if we walk in light, as he is in light, then have we fellowship together, and the blood of Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.

As God is light, so the devil is darkness.

As the devil is darkness and lies, so is God light and truth only, and there is no darkness of falsehood and consenting to wickedness in him. And the brightness of his light is his word and doctrine, as the hundred and nineteenth Psalm saith, Thy word is a lantern unto my feet, and a light to my paths. And Christ is the light that lighteneth all men. And the apostles are called the light of the world, because of the doctrine. And all that know truth are light. Ye were once darkness saith Paul; (Eph. v.) but now light in the Lord; walk therefore as the children of light. And good works are called the fruits of light. And all that live in ignorance are called darkness, as he saith afterwards, he that hateth his brother walketh in darkness. For if the light of the glorious gospel of Christ did shine in his heart, he could not hate his brother.

Good works are the fruits of life.

Walking in darkness or in light.

By walking understand consenting, doing, and working. If then we walk in darkness, that is, consent and work wickedness, and say we have fellowship with God, we lie. For to have fellowship with him, is to know, and

consent, and profess his doctrine in our hearts. Now if the commandments of God be written in our hearts, our members cannot but practice them and shew the fruit. So whether light or darkness be in the heart, it will appear in the walking. For though our members be never so dead unto virtue, yet if our souls knowledge the truth, and consent unto righteousness, we have the spirit of life in us. And Paul saith, (Rom. viii.) If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from death be in you, then will he that raised up Jesus from death, quicken your mortal bodies, by the reason of the Spirit that dwelleth in you. So that it is not possible for him that knoweth the truth, and consenteth thereto, to continue in sin. And then finally, if we have the light in our hearts, and walk therein, then we have fellowship with God, and are his sons and heirs, and are purged from all sin through Christ's blood.

If we have the Spirit of God in us, then will he raise us up with Jesus Christ.

If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and truth is not in us.

If we think there is no sin in us, we are beguiled and blind, and the light of God's word is not in us, and either follow sin as beasts without conscience at all; or if we see the gross sins, as murder, theft, and adultery, yet we have hanged a vail of false glosses upon Moses's face, and see not the brightness of the law, how that it requireth of us, as pure an heart to God, and as great love unto our neighbours as was in our Saviour Jesus, and ceaseth not before to condemn us as sinners.

He that saith he hath no sin deceiveth himself.

If we knowledge our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.

If we confess our sins, not in the priest's ear, (though that tradition restored unto the right use were not damna-

If we confess our sins to God with true faith and repentance, he will forgive us.

ble,) but in our hearts, to God, with true repentance and fast belief; then is he faithful to forgive and to purge us, because of his merciful truth and promise. For he promised Abraham, that in his seed all the world should be blessed from the curse of sin. And hath abundantly renewed his everlasting mercy unto us in the New Testament, promising that our sins shall be forgiven us in Christ's blood, if we repent and trust thereto.

If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.

All men are sinners.

For his word testifieth agianst us, that we are all sinners, yea, and else Christ died in vain. Solomon saith, (3 Kings viii.) That there is no man that sinneth not against God. And Paul proveth by the authority of the Scripture, unto the Romans, that we are all sinners without exception. And the Scripture witnesseth that we are damnable sinners, and that our nature is to sin. Which corrupt and poisoned nature, though it be begun to be healed, yet it is never thorough whole until the hour of death. For the which cause, with all our best fruits, there grow weeds among. Neither can there be any deed so perfect that could not be amended. When a blind bungler wondereth at his glorious works, a cunning workman that hath a clear judgment, perceiveth that it is unpossible to make a work that could not be made better. Now the law requireth works of us in the highest degree of perfection, and ceaseth not to accuse us until our works flow naturally, as glorious in perfection as the works of Christ. And Christ teacheth us to pray in our pater noster, Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive our trespassers. Whereby ye may easily understand, that we sin daily one against another, and all against God. Christ taught also to pray that our Father should not let us slip into temptation; signifying that our nature cannot but sin if occasions be given, except that God of his special grace keep us back. Which

Nothing can be so well done, but it may be amended.

readiness to sin is damnable sin in the law of God. David prayed (Psm. lxviii.) Let not the tempest drown me, let me not fall into the bottom, and let not the pit shut her mouth upon me: as who should say, First, keep me, O God, from sinning, then if I shall chance to fall, as no flesh can escape, one time or other, then call me shortly back again, and let me not sink too deep therein: and though I yet fall never so deep, yet Lord let not the way of mercy be stopped: signifying that it is unpossible to stand of ourselves, and much less to rise again. Which impotency and feebleness is damnable in the law of God, except that we saw it and repented, and were fled to Christ for mercy.

All the nature of man is sinful.

CHAP. II.

MY little children, I write these things unto you, that ye sin not. And though any man sin, yet we have an advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ, which is righteous.

I write unto you on the one side, that God is light, and therefore that no man which willingly walketh in the unfruitful works of darkness, hath any fellowship with that light, or part in the blood of his Son. And this I write and testify unto you my dear children, that ye sin not: that is, that ye consent not unto sin, nor should sin of lust and purpose maliciously; but contrariwise that ye fear God, and resist sin with all your might and power according as ye have promised. For whosoever sinneth of purpose after the knowledge of truth, the same sinneth against the Holy Ghost remediless. (Heb. vi. 10.)

We must resist sin with all our power and might.

And on the other side, I testify unto you that we be

always sinners, though not of purpose and malice after the nature of damned devils, but of infirmity and frailty of our flesh, which flesh not only letteth us that our works cannot be perfect, but also now and then, through manifold occasions and temptations carrieth us clean out of the right way, spite of our hearts. Howbeit (I say) if when the rage is past, we turn unto the right way again, and confess our sins unto our Father with a repenting heart, he hath promised us mercy, and is true to fulfil it. So that if we sin not devilishly against the Holy Ghost, refusing the doctrine which we cannot improve that it should not be true, but after the frailty of man, there is no cause to despair; for we have an advocate and an intercessor with the Father, even Jesus Christ that is righteous.

We sin daily by the frailty and weakness of our flesh.

The name of our advocate is Jesus, that is to say, a Saviour. Call his name Jesus, said the angel to Joseph; for he shall save his people from their sins. (Matt. i.) And this advocate and our Jesus, to save us from our sins, continueth ever, as it written, (Heb vii.) and hath, *Sempiternum Sacerdotium*, an everlasting office, to make an atonement for sin; by the reason whereof (saith the text) he is able ever to save them that come to God through him, with repentance and faith, and liveth ever to speak for us. And besides that, our Jesus is God and almighty. He took our nature upon him, and felt all our infirmities and sicknessess, and in feeling learned to have compassion on us, and for compassion cried mightily in prayers to God the Father for us, and was heard. And the voice of the same blood that once cried, not for vengeance as Abel's, but for mercy only, and was heard, crieth now and ever, and is ever heard, as oft as we call unto remembrance with repenting faith how that it was shed for our sins. He is also called *Christus*, that is to say, king anointed with all might and power over sin, death and hell, and over all sins; so that none that flieth unto him shall ever come into judgment of damnation. He is

Our advocate Jesus.

Jesus that is God and man, calleth unto thee O Father, for us.

Christus.

anointed with all fulness of grace, and hath all the treasure and riches of the Spirit of God in his hand, with which he blesseth all men according to the promise made to Abraham, and is thereto merciful to forgive unto all that call on him. And how much he loveth us, I report me unto the ensamples of his deeds.

By Jesus Christ we are made blessed.

And he is righteous, both toward God in that he never sinned, and therefore hath obtained all his favour and grace; and also toward us in that he is true to fulfil all the mercy that he hath promised us, even unto the uttermost jot.

And he is the satisfaction for our sins, and not for our's only, but also for all the world's.

That I call satisfaction, the Greek calleth *Ilasmos*, and the Hebrew *Copar*. And it is first taken for the suaging of wounds, sores, and swellings, and the taking away of pain and smart of them. And thence is borrowed for the pacifying and suaging of wrath and anger, and for an amends making, a contenting, satisfaction, a ransom, and making at one, as it is to see abundantly in the Bible. So that Christ is a full contenting, satisfaction and ransom for our sins. And not for our's only, which are apostles and disciples of Christ while he was yet here; or for our's which are Jews or Israelites and the seed of Abraham; or for our's that now believe at this present time, but for all men's sins, both for their sins which went before and believed the promises to come, and for our's which have seen them fulfilled, and also for all them which shall afterward believe unto the world's end, of whatsoever nation or degree they be. For Paul commandeth, (1 Tim. ii.) To pray for all men and all degrees, saying, that to be acceptable unto our Saviour God, which will have all men saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, that is some of all nations and all degrees, and not the Jews only. For (saith he) there is one God, and one Mediator between

Christ's blood is the satisfaction for our sins.

Christ gave himself for the redemption and salvation of all the world.

God and man, the man Christ Jesus, which gave himself a redemption and full satisfaction for all men.

Let this therefore be an undoubted article of thy faith: not of an history faith as thou believest a gest of Alexander, or of the old Romans, but of a lively faith and belief, to put thy trust and confidence in, and to buy and sell thereon, as we say, and to have thy sins taken away, and thy soul saved thereby, if thou hold it fast; and to continue ever in sin, and to have thy soul damned if thou let it slip; that our Jesus, our Saviour that saveth his people from their sins, and our Christ, that is our king over all sin, death and hell, anointed with fulness of all grace and with the Spirit of God, to distribute unto all men, hath, according unto the Epistle to the Hebrews and all the Scripture, in the days of his mortal flesh, with fasting, praying, suffering, and crying to God mightily for us, and with shedding his blood, made full satisfaction both *a pœna et a culpa* (with our holy father's leave) for all the sins of the world; both of their's that went before, and of their's that come after in the faith; whether it be original sin or actual: and not only the sins committed with consent to evil in time of ignorance before the knowledge of the truth, but also the sins done of frailty after we have forsaken evil and consented to the laws of God in our hearts, promising to follow Christ and walk in the light of his doctrine.

Christ is king over death, hell, and sin.

He saveth his people from their sins, (Matt. i.) and that he only. So that there is no other name to be saved by, (Acts iv.) And unto him bear all the prophets record, that all that believe in him shall receive remission of their sins in his name. (Acts x.) And by him only we have an entering in unto the Father and unto all grace. (Eph. ii. 3. Rom. v.) And as many are come before him as thieves and murderers. (John x.) That is, whosoever preacheth any other forgiveness of sin than through faith in his name, the same slayeth the soul.

Christ only is our Saviour.

This to be true, not only of original but of actual, and

as well of that we commit after our profession, as before, mayest thou evidently see by the ensamples of the Scripture. Christ forgave the woman taken in adultery, (John viii.) and another whom he healed. (John v.) And he forgave publicans and open sinners, and put none to do penance, as they call it, for to make satisfaction for the sin, which he forgave through repentance and faith, but enjoined them the life of penance, the profession of their baptism, to tame the flesh in keeping the commandments, and that they should sin no more. And those sinners were for the most part Jews, and had their original sin forgiven them before, through faith in the Testament of of God. Christ forgave his apostles their actual sins after their profession, which they committed in denying him, and put none to do penance for satisfaction. Peter, (Acts ii.) absolveth the Jews through repentance and faith from their actual sins which they did in consenting unto Christ's death, and enjoined them no penance to make satisfaction. Paul also had his actual sins forgiven him freely through repentance and faith without mention of satisfaction. (Acts ix.) So that according unto this present text of John, if it chance us to sin of frailty, let us not despair, for we have an advocate and intercessor, a true attorney with the Father, Jesus Christ, righteous towards God and man, and is the reconciling and satisfaction for our sins.

Christ forgiveth all our sins freely for his mercy sake.

Christ only is our advocate.

For Christ's works are perfect, so that he hath obtained us all mercy and hath set us in the full state of grace and favour of God, and hath made us as well beloved as the angels of heaven, though we be yet weak. As the young children though they can do no good at all are yet as tenderly beloved as the old. And God, for Christ's sake, hath promised that whatsoever evil we shall do, yet if we turn and repent, he will never more think on our sins.

Thou wilt say, God forgiveth the displeasure, but we must suffer pain to satisfy the righteousness of God. A

Popish forgiveness.

then God hath a righteousness which may not forgive pain, and all that the poor sinner should go scot free without ought at all! God was unrighteous to forgive the thief his pain, and all through repentance and faith, unto whom for lack of leisure was no penance enjoined. And my faith is, that whatsoever ensample of mercy God hath shewed one, that same he hath promised all; yea, will he peradventure forgive me, but I must make amends? If I owe you twenty pounds, ye will forgive me, that is, ye will no more be angry with me, but I shall pay you the twenty pounds. O popish forgiveness, with whom it goeth after the common proverb, No penny, no pardon! His fatherhood giveth pardon freely, but we must pay money abundantly.

The forgiveness that we have of God for Christ's sake is free.

Paul's doctrine is (Rom. ix.) If a man work, it ought not to be said that his hire was given him of grace or of favour, but of duty. But to him that worketh not, but believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, his *faith* (he saith not, his *works*, although he commandeth us diligently to work and despiseth none that God commandeth) his faith (saith he) is reckoned him for his righteousness. Confirming his saying with the testimony of the prophet David in the thirty second Psalm, saying, Blessed is the man unto whom God imputeth or reckoneth not his sin, that is to say, which man, although he be a sinner, yet God layeth not it to his charge for his faith's sake. And in the eleventh he saith, If it come of grace then it cometh not of works; for then were grace no grace, saith he. For it was a very strange speaking in Paul's ears to call that grace that came of deserving of works; or that deserving of works which came by grace; for he reckoned works and grace to be contrary in such manner of speech. But our holy father hath coupled them together of pure liberality, I dare say, and not for covetousness. For as his holiness, if he have a cause against any man, immediately breatheth out an excommunication upon him, and will have satisfaction for the uttermost farthing, and somewhat above, to

Faith in Christ is accounted to us for righteousness.

We are saved by grace, and not by works of the law.

The pope, when any man offendeth him, falleth to cursing.

teach them to beware against another time, ere he will bless again from the terrible sentence of his heavy curse, even so of that blessed complexion he describeth the nature of the mercy of God, that God will remit his anger to us upon the appointment of our satisfaction. When the Scripture saith, Christ is our righteousness, our justifying, our redemption, our atonement, that hath appeased God, and cleanseth us from our sins, and all in his blood, so that his blood is the satisfaction only.

Works can be no satisfaction for sin to Godward.

God is a Spirit, and must be worshipped in the spirit.

And that thou mayest the better perceive the falsehood of our holy father's fleshly imagination, call to mind how that the Scripture saith, (John iv.) God is a Spirit and must be worshipped in the spirit. That is, repentance, faith, hope, and love toward his law and our neighbour for his sake, is his worship in the spirit. And therefore whosoever worshippeth God with works, and referreth his works to God, to be a sacrifice unto him, to appease him as though he delighted in the work for the work's sake, the same maketh of God an image or idol, and is an image server, and as wicked an idolater as ever was any blind heathen, and serveth God after the imagination of his own heart, and is abominable unto God: as thou seest in how many places God defieth the sacrifice of the children of Israel, for the said imagination. So that whosoever supposeth that his candle sticking before an image, his putting a penny in the box, his going a pilgrimage, his fasting, his woolward going, barefoot going, his crouching, kneeling, and pain-taking, be sacrifice unto God, as though he delighted in them, as we in the gestures of Jack Napes, is as blind as he that gropeth for his way at noon. God's worspip is to love him for his mercy, and of love to bestow all our works upon our neighbour for his sake; and upon the taming of our flesh, that we sin not again, which should be the chiefest care of a Christian man, whilst Christ careth for that that is once past and committed already, whether before our profession or after. For the conditions of the peace that is made between God and us

Popish works.

God's worship.

in Christ's blood are these: The law is set before us, unto which if we consent and submit ourselves to be scholars thereof, then are not only all our fore sins forgiven both *pœna et culpa* (with our holy father's licence ever) but also all our infirmities, weakness, proneness, readiness, and motions unto sin, are pardoned, and taken aworth, and we translated from under the damnation of the law, which damneth as well those infirmities, as the sin that springeth of them, and putteth us under grace. (Rom. vii.) So that we shall not henceforth, as long as we forsake not our profession, be judged by the rigourousness of the law; but chastised if we do amiss as children that are under no law. Now then if God in Christ pardon our infirmities, by reason of which we cannot escape but that we shall now and then sin, it followeth that he must likewise pardon the actual sin which we do, compelled of those infirmities in spite of our hearts, and against the will of the Spirit. For if thou pardon the sickness of the sick, then must thou pardon the deeds which he doth, or leaveth undone by the reason of his sickness. If the madness of a madman be pardoned and under no law, then if he murder in his madness, he may not be slain again. If children within a certain age are not under the law that slayeth thieves, then can ye not of right hang them, though they steal. What popish pardoning were that! This doth Paul (Rom. vii.) so confirm, that all the world cannot quitch against it, saying: I consent unto the law of God that it is good, and fain would I do it, and yet have I not always power so to do, but find another thing in my flesh, rebelling against the will of my mind, and leading me captive into sin, so that I cannot do that I would do, but am compelled to do that I would not. If (saith he) I do that I would not, then I do it not, but the sin that dwelleth in me doth it. And then saith he, Who shall deliver me from this body of death, in which I am bound prisoner against my will? Thanks be to God (saith he) through Jesus Christ our Lord, which hath conquered and over

God doth pardon and forgive all our sins whatsoever they are for Christ's sake.

Christ's victory.

come sin, death, and hell, and hath put the damnation of the law out of the way, unto all that profess the law, and believe in him.

We be under the law to learn it, and to fashion our deeds as like as we can, but not under the damnation of the law, that we should be damned, though our deeds were not perfect as the law requireth, or though of frailty we at a time break it. As children are under the law that they steal not, but not under the damnation though they steal.

So that all they that are graffed into Christ to follow his doctrine, are under the law to learn it only, but are delivered from fear of everlasting death and hell, and all the threatenings of the law, and from conscience of sin, which feared us from God. And we are come into God through the confidence that we have in Jesus Christ, and are as familiar and bold with him as young innocent children, which have no conscience of sin, are with their fathers and mothers, or them that nourish them. Which were unpossible if God now (as the pope painteth him) did shake a rod at us of seven years' punishment, as sharp as the pains of hell, for every tresspass we do, which tresspass for the number of them, were like to make our purgatory almost as long as hell; seeing we have no God's word that we shall be delivered thence, until we have paid the last farthing. And therefore could our conscience never be at rest, nor be bold and familiar with God.

The pope's purgatory is terrible.

If ye say, the pope can deliver my conscience from fear of purgatory (as his poetry only putteth me in fear) and that by this text, Whatsoever thou bindest on earth, &c. If thou this way understand the text, Whatsoever thou, being in earth, loosest any where: then might he loose in hell, and bind in heaven. But why may not I take the text of Christ? (John xvi.) Whatsoever ye ask my Father in my name, he will give it you: and desire forgiveness of altogether in Christ's name, both *a pœna et culpa;* and then remaineth no such purgatory at all? Howbeit the text of binding and loosing, is but borrowed speech,

Bind and loose.

Note this text. Binding and loosing is by the true preaching of God's word.

how that after the similitude of worldly binding and loosing, locking and unlocking, the word of God truly preached, doth bind and loose the conscience.

God saith to Jeremiah (chap i.) Behold I give thee power over nations and kingdoms to pluck up by the roots, and to shiver in pieces, to destroy and cast down, and to build and plant. How did he destroy nations and kingdoms, and how did he build them? verily, by preaching and prophesying. What nation, kingdom, or city he prophesied to be overthrown, was so. And what city he prophesied to be built again, was so. And what nation after they were brought into captivity he prophesied to be restored again, were so. And whom he prophesied to perish, perished. And whom he prophesied to be saved, was saved.

Even so, whomsoever a true preacher of God's word saith shall be damned for his sin, because he will not repent and believe in Christ, the same is damned: And whomsoever a true preacher of God's word saith shall be saved because he repenteth and believeth in Christ's blood, the same is saved. And this is the binding and loosing that Christ meant.

Notwithstanding, ye must understand that when we have sinned, though our hearts were not to sin, and though we repent, ere the deed be done, yet the body in sinning hath overcome the spirit, and hath got the mastery. So that the spirit is now weaker and feebler to virtue, and to follow the law of God and doctrine of Christ, and the flesh stronger to follow vice and sin. Wherefore as when an old sore is broken forth again, we begin, as it were, a new cure with greater diligence and more care than before: even so here we must renew our old battle against the flesh, and more strongly go to work, to subdue it, and to quench the lusts thereof, which are waxen so rank, that they bud out openly, according to the profession of our baptism which is the very sacrament or sign of repentance, or if they will so have it called, penance, by the interpretation of Paul. (Rom. vi.) For the plunging into

We must struggle and strive with sin.

the water, as it betokeneth on the one part that Christ hath washed our souls in his blood; even so on the other part, it signifieth that we have promised to quench and slay the lusts of the flesh with prayer, fasting, and holy meditation, after the doctrine of Christ, and with all godly exercise, that tame the flesh, and kill not the man.

How penance came up and purgatory.

Whereupon the bishops that succeeded the apostles, when men had done any open sins, enjoined them penance, as they call it, by the authority of the congregation and governors thereof, and advice of the most wise and discreet, and with the willing consent of the trespassers, to tame the flesh, as to go woolward, to wear shirts of hair, to go barefoot, and bare head, to pray, to fast bread and water, some once in the week, some twice, or all the week, an whole year, two years, three years, eight years, twenty years, and some all their lives long. And to go in pilgrimage to visit the memorial of saints, to strength them the better to follow the ensample and such like, and all to slay the worldly mind of the flesh. Which manner when it was once received of the people by custom, it became a law. And the bishops by little and little gat it whole into their own hands.

How the pope and his shavelings have abused penance.

When the bishops saw that, how they had got the simple people under them in such humble obedience, they began to set up their crests, and to reign over them as princes, and to enjoin sore penance for small trifles, namely, if ought were done against their pleasure, and beat some sore, and spared other, and sold their penance to the rich, and overladed the poor, until the tyranny was waxed so grievous that the people would bear it no longer. For by this time, what in the multitude of ceremonies, and heap of men's constitutions, whose right use was thereto clean forgotten, and partly because our shepherds were busied to seek themselves and their high authority, and exalted every man his throne, and were become wolves unto the flock, the cause why the people were disobedient unto wholesome counsel; the word of God was sore

darkened, and no where purely preached. And therefore the prelates, loath to lose their high authority, and to let the people go free of their yoke, began to turn their tale, and sing a new song, how that this penance was enjoined to make satisfaction to God for the sin that was committed; robbing our souls of the fruit of Christ's blood, and making us image servants; referring our deeds unto the person of God, and worshipping him as an image of our own imagination with bodily work: saying moreover, if we would not do such penance here at their injunctions, we must do it in another world, and so feigned purgatory where we must suffer seven years for every sin. And when the kingdom of antichrist was so enlarged that it must have an head, they set up our holy father of Rome, or rather usurped that Rome with violence, and to him was given this prerogative to sell whom he would from purgatory.

Here was purgatory blinded.

The definition of penance made by the papists.

And the sacrament of penance they thus describe: contrition, confession, and satisfaction. Contrition, sorrow for thy sins. Confession, not to God and them whom thou hast offended, but tell thy sins in the priest's ear. Satisfaction, to do certain deeds enjoined of them, to buy out thy sins. And in their description they have clean excluded the faith in the satisfaction of Christ's blood, which only bringeth life, and the spirit of life, and righteousness, and without the which it is impossible to please God. (Heb. ii.) In whose stead they have put in the presumption of our own works. And for lack of trust in Christ's blood, our contrition is but a fruitless sorrow in the respect of hell, which maketh us hate the law still, and consequently God that made it: where true contrition annexed with faith, is sorrow in respect of the law, unto which we consent that it is good, and love it, and therefore mourn partly because we have offended it, and partly because we lack power to fulfil it as we would.

Faith is the chiefest part of penance.

These things to be true our prelates know by open histories, as well as when it is noon the sun is flat south:

but it delighteth them to resist the Holy Ghost, and to persecute the preachers of the things, which, if they as well loved as they know to be true, they would preach the same themselves and live hereafter. Hereof ye may see our works are but to tame the flesh only, and can be no satisfaction to God, except we make him an image and ourselves image servants. And hereof ye may see how out of this open penance came the ear confession, satisfaction of works, purgatory and pardons. For when they had put the satisfaction of Christ's blood out of the way, then as they compelled to confess open sins, and to take open penance, even so they compelled to confess secret sins, and to take secret penance. And as they made merchandize of open penance, so did they of secret. And for them that would not receive such pardon feigned they purgatory, and for them that received them feigned they pardon, turning binding and loosing, with preaching God's word, unto buying and selling sin for money. And since that time hitherto, the worse the people were, the better were the prelates content, ever resisting that they should be made better through their blessed covetousness and proud desire of honour.

Our works can make no satisfaction, but only faith in Christ's blood.

The practise and merchandise of the pope and his clergy.

And out of this false presumption of works, sprang the wicked vows of religion, which they vow to make satisfaction for sin, and to be higher in heaven; instead of the life of penance which Christ taught us in the gospel, to tame the flesh, and to crucify the members withal, that we henceforth should walk in the ways of God's law, and sin no more.

Vows of religion.

And to speak of worshipping of saints, and praying unto them, and of that we make them our advocates well nigh above Christ or altogether, though it require a long disputation, yet it is as bright as the day to all that know the truth; how that our fasting of their evens, and keeping their holy days, going barefoot, sticking up of candles in the bright day, in the worshipping of them to obtain their favour, our giving them so costly jewels, offering into their

Worshipping of saints.

The pope and his clergy setteth up idolatry.

boxes, clothing their images, shoeing them with silver shoes with an ouch of crystal in the middle, to stroke the lips and eyes of the ignorant, as a man would stroke young children's heads to entice them and bring them in, and rock them asleep in ignorance, are with all like service, plain idolatry, that is, in English, image service. For the saints are spirits and can have no delectation in bodily things. And because those bodily deeds can be no service unto the spiritual saints, and we do them not to be a service to ourselves or our neighbours; we serve the work and the false imagination of our fleshly wit, after the doctrine of man, and not of God, and are image servants. And this is that Paul calleth *Servire elementis mundi*, to be in captivity under dumb ceremonies and vain traditions of men's doctrine, and to do the work for the work itself, as though God delighted therein, for the deed itself, without all other respect.

The true worshipping of saints.

But and ye will know the true worshipping of saints, hearken unto Paul, (Phil. ii.) where he saith, Ye shine as lights in the world, holding fast the word of life unto my glory, or worship, against the day of Jesus Christ, that I have not run nor laboured in vain. That is, to wete, the worship which all true saints now seek, and the worship that all the true messengers of God seek this day, or ever shall seek, is to draw all to Christ with preaching the true word of God, and with the ensample of pure living fashioned thereafter. Will ye therefore worship saints truly? then hear what they preached, and believe their doctrine. And as they followed that doctrine to conform your living like unto theirs. And that shall be unto their high worship in the coming again of Christ (when all men's deeds shall appear, and every man shall be judged and receive his reward according unto his deeds) how that they not only, while they here lived, but also after their death with the ensample of their doctrine and living, left behind in writing and other memorials unto the ensample of them that should follow them unto Christ, that

Good lessons are to be learned of the saints.

were born five hundred, yea, a thousand years after their death. This was their worship in the spirit at the beginning as they were spirits; and lights were sticked before their memorials at the beginning to be a ceremony to put us in remembrance that we so praised the saints and boasted their livings that we followed their ensamples in our deeds, as Christ saith (Matt. v.) Let your light so shine before men that they see your good works and glorify your Father that is in heaven. For preaching of the doctrine, which is light, hath but small effect to move the heart if the ensample of living do disagree.

The true worshipping of saints is to follow their life and doctrine.

And that we worship saints for fear lest they should be displeased and angry with us, and plague us or hurt us, as who is not afraid of St. Laurence? who dare deny. St. Anthony, a fleece of wool for fear of his terrible fire, (or lest he send the pox among our sheep) is heathen image service, and clean against the first commandment which is, Hear, Israel, the Lord thy God is one God. Now God in the Hebrew is called *El* or *Elohim* in the plural number, strength or might. So that the commandment is, Hear, Israel, he that is thy power and might, thy sword and shield, is but one, that is, there is none of might to help or hurt thee, save one, which is altogether thine and at thy commandment if thou wilt hear his voice. And all other might in the world is borrowed of him. And he will lend no might against the contrary to his promises; keep therefore his commandments and he shall keep thee. And if thou have broken them, and he have lent of his power against thee, repent and come again unto thy profession, and he will return again unto his mercy and fetch his power home again, which he lent to vex thee, because thou forsookest him and brakedst his commandments. And fear no other creature, for false fear is the cause of all idolatry.

If we hearken to the voice of God, he is mighty and of power to help us.

Moreover all we that are baptised in Christ have professed to do good for evil, and not to avenge ourselves. And many of us come unto such perfection that we can be provoked by no temptation to desire vengeance, but

We must do good for evil.

have compassion and meekly pray for them that slay us.

A popish imagination.

How wicked a thing then is it to think that the saints plague us, because we do them not such superstitious honour which is their dishonour and our shame? It is verily a popish imagination, and even to describe the saints after the nature of our prelates which be meek and lowly till they be where they would be. But when they be once aloft they play the tormentors if we will not honour them and do whatsoever they command, more earnestly than that which God himself hath commanded, and fear them above God himself.

Advouries.

And it can be but like abomination also, that we choose of a fleshly mind every man his several saint, or rather several Gods, to be our advocates, attornies, mediators (when there is but one, 1 Tim. ii.) and intercessors; and call them our advouries, when we might better call them our adulterers, and serve them, or rather a painted post in their stead, with our image service, therewith to bind them for to help us whensoever and for whatsoever we call unto them, and to save our souls thereto with their prayers and merits, and will yet neither hear that doctrine, nor follow the ensample of living (which is their only honour) in the spirit of any saint whose doctrine and living is authentic.

Idolatry.

God hath promised to give us whatsoever we ask in Christ's name, and for Christ's sake.

For first, God, which alone which hath power to help or hurt, hath made appointment betwixt him and us in Christ's blood, and hath bound himself to give us whatsoever we ask in his name, testifying thereto that there is no other name to be saved by, and that he will be a father unto us, and save us both in this life and in the life to come, and take us from under the damnation of the law, and set us under grace and mercy: to be scholars only to learn the law, and that our unperfect deeds shall be taken in worth, yea, and though at a time we mar all through our infirmity, yet if we turn again, that shall be forgiven us mercifully, so that we shall be under no damnation:

which testament is confirmed with signs and wonders wrought through the Holy Ghost. Now this indented obligation laid apart, we make another of our own imagination between the saints and us, in their merits for our image service. Which can be but a false faith, seeing it hath not God's word (unto which alone we ought to cleave) but is also clean contrary thereto.

Saints cannot help us.

And again, the saints were not saved through their own merits, but through Christ's. Neither were their deeds which they did after they were received under grace, sufficient in themselves to fulfil the law for the present time, save as Christ's merits did supply the imperfectness of them, and the which was lacking on their part through their infirmities. And therefore as the saints' holy works made no satisfaction for the sin they did before they were received under mercy, even so made they none for the deadly sins which they did under mercy: seeing the deeds were unperfect, and had sin annexed unto them by reason of the flesh, and were insufficient to excuse their own masters. What merits have they in store for us then, seeing by all men's confession they now merit not? If the most obedient child in the world disobey his father's commandments, his fore good deeds cannot make that disobedience no sin, or to be a satisfaction, that the child should presume in the confidence of his old deeds, and think his father should do him wrong to punish him. But he must knowledge his fault, and that he hath deserved punishment, and desire forgiveness, unto the glory of his father's mercifulness, and not of his old deeds, though his old obedience be a great presumption that he sinned of frailty, and not of purpose. Even so if I, being as holy as ever was Paul in his most holiness, sin this day through the frailty of my flesh, mine old deeds can be no satisfaction; but I must knowledge my sin unto my Father, and grant that I have deserved damnation, and meekly desire forgiveness, and challenge it by the obligation, wherein God hath bound himself to me, unto the glory of the mercy of

The saints were not saved by their own merits, but by Christ's merits.

We must humble ourselves to the mercy of almighty God.

God, and not to the glory of my holy deeds: for if my deeds save me, it is my glory. But if he forgive us freely without respect of my deeds, then it is the glory of his mercy, by Paul's doctrine unto the Romans.

The angels serve us.

Moreover if the saints be in heaven, then can they be there in none other case than the angels, in which state Christ testifieth they shall be in the resurrection. Now the angels are ministers sent of God, to do service unto the elect, which shall be saved. (Heb. i.) And God hath bound himself, that if I come in the right way, by the door of Christ's blood and ask help, that he will send me, if need be, an hundred legions of angels or saints. But when God hath bound himself to send me angels or saints, or an angel or saint, he hath not promised to send this angel or that, or this or that saint. And therefore when I appoint God whom he shall send, and bind him, where he hath not bound himself, to send me what saint I will, I tempt God. And thus this choosing of several saints is but tempting of God. And yet we do worse than this; for we leave the way of Christ's blood, and go not to God through him; but run to the saints in a testament of our own making, and will that they either save us themselves for our own image service, or compel God for merit's sake to save us. Why goest thou not unto thy Father thine ownself? I am a sinner, will they say, and dare not. If thou go in the right way, thou hast no sin. Christ hath taken all thy sins from thee, and God hath no rod in his hand, nor looketh sour, but merrily, that it is a lust to behold his cheerful countenance, and offereth thee his hand. But this way is stopped up through unbelief, and therefore we seek another which is no way to life, but unto everlasting death. We will not look on the law with open eyes, and therefore have we no due repentance, and so no lust to hearken unto the gospel of glad tidings in Christ's blood. And where the right way is set before us, and we of malice will not walk therein, God cannot but let the devil play with us, and juggle our eyes to confirm us in blindness.

To choose saints to be our advocates, is mere idolatry.

Christ is the way and life that leadeth us to salvation.

But after what manner doth Christ pray for us? Verily Christ in the days of his mortal flesh, suffered and prayed for all that shall be saved, and obtained and was heard, and had his petitions granted. And he made satisfaction, and purged, and purchased forgiveness, even then for all the sin that ever shall be forgiven: And his praying for us, and being a mediator now, is that the remembrance of all that he did for us, is present in the sight of God the Father, as fresh as the hour he did them, yea, the same hour is yet present, and not past in the sight of God. And Christ is now a king, and reigneth, and hath received power of all that he prayed for, to do it himself. And that whensoever the elect call for ought in his name, he sendeth help even of the power which he hath received: yea, ere they ask, he sendeth his Spirit into their hearts to move them to ask. So that it is his gift that we desire ought in his name. And in all that we do or think well, he preventeth us with his grace: yea, he careth for us, ere we care for ourselves, and when we were yet evil, he sendeth to call us, and draweth us with such power that our hearts cannot but consent and come. And the angels stand by, and behold the testament of the elect, how we shall be received into their fellowship, and see all the grace that Christ shall pour out upon us. And they rejoice and praise God for his infinite mercy, and are glad, and long for us, and of very love are ready against all hours when we shall call for help in Christ's name, to come and help. And Christ sendeth them when we call in his name, and ere we call, even while we be yet evil, and haply persecute the truth, of ignorance, as Paul did, the angels wait upon us to keep that the devils slay us not, before the time of our calling be come.

How Christ prayeth for us.

Christ is a king and hath power himself to forgive us, and to receive us unto himself.

All the blessed company of heaven rejoice and are glad to have us to be with them, that we might joy together.

Now if an angel should appear unto thee, what wouldest thou say unto him? If thou prayedst him to help, he would answer: I do. Christ hath sent me to help, and believe that the angels be ever about thee to

help. If thou desiredst him to pray for thee to obtain this or that, he would say: Christ hath prayed, and his prayer is heard for whatsoever thou askest in his name: and would shew thee all that God would do to thee, and what he would also have thee to do: and if thou believest, so wert thou safe. If thou desiredst him to save thee with his merits, he would answer that he had no merits; but that Christ only is Lord of all merits: nor salvation, but that Christ is Lord of salvation. Wilt thou therefore be saved by merits? would the angel say: then pray to God in Christ's name, and thou shalt be saved by the merits of him, and have me or some other thy servant immediately to help thee unto the uttermost of our power, and to keep thee and bring thee unto the reward of his merits. If thou wouldest promise him to worship him with image service, that is to stick up a candle before his image, or such an image as he appeared to thee in. He would answer that he were a spirit, and delighted in no candlelight, but would bid thee give a candle to thy neighbour that lacked, if thou hadst too many. And so would he answer thee if thou wouldest put money in a box for him, or clothe his image in cloth of gold, or put golden shoes upon his image's feet. If thou saidst that thou wouldest build a chapel in his name, he would answer that he dwelt in no house made with stones, but would bid thee go to the churches that are made already, and learn of the preachers there how to believe, and how to live, and honour God in the spirit, for the which cause churches where chiefly builded and for quietness to pray. And if there be no church, then to give of that thou mayest spare to help that one were builded to be a preaching and a praying house, and of worshipping God in the spirit, and not of image service.

Christ prayeth for us and his prayer is heard.

Image service is abhorred of God.

God hateth superstition.

Churches were ordained for preaching and calling on the name of God.

And if Paul appeared unto thee, what other thing could he answer also, than that he were a spirit, and would refuse all thy image service? And if thou speak to Paul of his merits, he can none otherwise answer thee, than

he answered his Corinthians: That he died for no man's sins, and that no man was baptized in his name to trust in his merits. He would say, I builded all men upon Christ's merits: preaching that all that repented and believed in his name, should be saved, and taken from under the wrath, vengeance, and damnation of the law, and be put under mercy and grace. And by this faith was I saved from damnation, and put under mercy and grace, and made one with Christ, to have my part with him, and he with me; or rather to make a change that he should have all my sins, and I his mercy and the gifts of his grace, and become glorious with the ornaments of his riches. And of my Saviour Christ I received this law, that I should love my brethren all God's elect as tenderly as he loved them. And I consented unto this law, for it seemed right, and became a scholar to learn it. And as I profited in the knowledge, faith, and love of Christ, so I grew in the love of my brethren, and suffered all things for their sakes, and at the last waxed so perfect, that I wished myself damned (if it might have been,) to save my brethren. And all my brethren that received Christ received the same commandment, and grew therein. And they that were perfect loved me, and all their other brethren no less than I loved them. And look with what love I ministered the gifts of grace, which I received of Christ for the edifying of his congregation, upon my brethren, with the same love did they minister their gifts again on me, which they had and I lacked, and so love made all common. And moreover if they call my works my merits, I bestowed all my works upon my brethren to teach them, and reaped the fruit thereof, even my brethren's edifying and soul's health; yea, and reap daily, in that I left my doctrine and ensample of living behind me, by which many are converted unto Christ daily. If thou desire therefore to enjoy part of my merit, go and read in my gospel, and thou shalt find the fruit of my labour, the knowledge of Christ, the health of the soul and everlasting life.

Christ hath made a change with us, for he hath taken upon him all our sins, and granted us his mercy and gifts of grace.

Love maketh all things common.

And as I loved my brethren when I lived, so I love them still, and now more perfectly. Howbeit my love then was painful: for the more I loved, the more I sorrowed, feared and cared for them to bring them into the knowledge of the truth, and to keep them in unity of faith, lest the false prophets should deceive them, or their own infirmities should break peace and unity, or cause them to fall into any sin.

St. Paul was a loving and careful preacher.

But now my love is without pain. For I see the will and providence of God, and how the end of all things shall be unto his glory and profit of the elect. And though I see the elect shall sometime fall, yet I see how they shall arise again and how that their fall shall be unto the glory of God and their own profit. And we that are in heaven, love you all alike: neither we love one more and another less. And therefore if ye love us more one than another, that is fleshly, as mine old Corinthians once loved, and I rebuked them. Neither can we be moved to come more to help one than another. But we wait when God will send any of us unto the elect that call for help in Christ's name. Wherefore, if thou wilt be holp of any of us, pray in Christ's name. And God shall send one of us, an angel or a saint, to keep the power of the devils from you; but not whom thou wouldest choose, tempting God; but whom it pleaseth God to send.

A good saying of St. Paul.

And if your preachers love you not after the same manner, to edify you with the true doctrine of Christ and ensample of living thereafter, and to keep you in unity of faith and charity, they be not of Christ's disciples, but antichrists which, under the name of Christ, seek to reign over you as temporal tyrants. And in like manner if this be not written in your hearts, that ye ought to love one another as Christ loved you, and as ye had ensample of us his apostles, ye go astray in vanities and are not in the right way.

And hereby are we sure that we know him, if we keep his commandments.

This is clean against the doctrine of them which say, that we cannot know whether we be in the state of grace or no. John saith, If we keep his commandments, then we be sure that we know Christ is everlasting life. (John xvii.) Then, contrary to the pope, Christian men have doctrine to know whether they be in grace or no.

The state of grace.

The keeping of God's commandments certifieth us that we be in the state of grace. But our doctors have no doctrine to know when a man is in a state of grace, wherefore it is manifest that they keep not God's commandments, nor be in a state of grace but of all ungraciousness.

They that keep the commandments are in the state of grace.

Our doctors know not whether they be in a state of grace. Our doctors keep men's commandments, ergo, men's commandments certify not that we be in a state of grace. Though thou have a devotion to stick up a candle before a post, and so forth, yet thou canst never be sure thereby that thou art in the favour of God. But if thou have devotion to help thy brother in all his misfortunes, because he is the image of God and price of Christ's blood, then thy devotion certifieth thee that thou art in the favour of God or state of grace.

When we do good to our neighbour, then we may be assured that we are in a state of grace.

He that saith, I know him, and yet keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.

When our pharisees say, Do as we bid you, and not as we do; they testify that they keep not God's commandments, unto which testimony our eyes also bear record. And they that keep not God's commandments be liars and have no truth in them And then when they preach, they cannot but preach lies. And then though they preach Christ, they preach him falsely, unto their fleshly

A sure argument to know false prophets by.

vantage, and not our souls' health. And forasmuch as we may have no fellowship with them that keep not God's commandments, (1 Cor. v.) and inasmuch as all such are false prophets, void of all truth; it followeth that we ought to give our doctors none audience, though their defenders stood by them, with their swords drawn, but rather to lay down our heads, and stretch forth our necks to be slain.

He that keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfect, and hereby know we that we are in him.

To be in God is to believe in the mercy of God.

That is, he that keepeth his commandments, loveth unfeignedly, and is thereby sure that he is in God. For to be in God is to believe in the mercy of God; and to believe in mercy, is cause of love, and love cause of working. And therefore he that worketh for God's sake, is sure that he loveth and that he trusteth in God; which is to be in God or in Christ. And as by wilful keeping of the commandments we be sure that we love God, and believe in God; even so through wilful breaking of them, we may be sure that we neither love nor believe in him, and therefore that we be not in him.

A rule to know whether we love God or love him not.

He that saith he abideth in him, ought to walk as he walked.

All that be baptised in Christ, are washed in him, to put off pride, wrath, hate and envy, with all their old conversation, by which they oppressed their neighbours, and have promised to become every man even as Christ himself unto his brethren, in love and kindness both in word and deed. They therefore which resist Christ's Testament, and will not let it be known, and walk in the testament of the pope, with unions, pluralities and totquots, some one of them robbing ten parishes of the tenth of

all their yearly increase, and withdrawing from them God's word, the food of their souls, and from the poor their daily sustenance, which ought to have their part in the tithes and other rents, when the preacher and other necessary ministers have out their parts, a due and lawful stipend—are not in Christ. For Christ neither so walked nor so taught.

They that be enemies to the Testament of Christ, and are teachers of man's inventions are not in Christ.

Brethren, I write no new commandment unto you, but an old commandment which ye had at the beginning. For an old commandment is the word which ye heard from the beginning.

I write no new precept, but only put you in remembrance of that old which was taught you when you were first baptised in Christ, to love each other as he did you. Which is an old commandment, and was given at the beginning of the world, and hath ever since been written in the heart of all that put their hope in God.

And old commandment is the word which ye heard from the beginning.

Again, a new commandment I write unto you, which is true in him, and also in you; for the darkness is past, and the true light now shineth.

The devil hath sown his darknesss in the field where this commandment should grow, and the weeds of men's traditions had overgrown the corn of this old commandment, so that it was antique and clean out of knowledge. But Christ, the light of all true doctrine, now shineth, and hath scattered the darkness, and plucked up the weeds by the roots, and restored this old commandment again. And in him it is a true commandment, for he loved truly. And in you it is a true commandment, for ye, for his sake, love one another truly also. And by the reason of this renewing it is called a new commandment, as it is now called a new learning, and may well so be; for it hath lain long in darkness, and that in such darkness, that many be shrined

Sic transit gloria mundi.

This was cardinal Wolsey.

for holy staints, whose deeds and living (when thou lookest upon them in the light of this old doctrine that now shineth again out of darkness) are more abominable than the deeds and living of him, which of late for all his exalting his throne, and swearing by his high honour, and for the worship of his hat and glory of his precious shoes, when he was pained with the colic of an evil conscience, having no other shift, because his soul could find no other issue, took himself a medicine, *ut emitteret spiritum per posteriora.*

He that saith he is in the light, and yet hateth his brother, is in darkness.

He that hateth his brother, is in darkness and seeth not Christ.

For whosoever feeleth his own damnation under the law, and believeth in the mercy that is in Christ, the same cannot but love Christ and his neighbour for his sake. And therefore he that hateth his brother for any offence done to him, the same seeth not what Christ hath done for him, but is in darkness still.

He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none offending in him.

To abide in the light is to abide in the knowledge of Christ.

Abideth in the light, that is, continueth in the knowledge of Christ. And there is none offending in him, that is: First, he will willingly do nothing either in word or in deed that shall offend his brother. For love will not let him. And Secondarily, if ought be done or said, that may be well done or said, he taketh it to the best and is not offended. And thus ye see that the knowledge of Christ is cause of all goodness, and the ignorance of Christ cause of all evil. And so the doctrine of them is not false, which say that faith in Christ is root of all godly virtue, and the cause of keeping the commandments; and where faith is, there to be no sin nor damnation; and that say, unbelief to be the mother of all vice, and cause of break-

Faith in Christ is the root of all goodness.

ing the commandments, and to keep men in sin and damnation only, as faith only looseth us thence.

And he that hateth his brother is in darkness; and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth. For darkness hath blinded his eyes.

He that hateth his brother is in the ignorance of Christ and of his own sin, and without repentance and faith that his sins be forgiven him in Christ, and therefore is merciless unto his brother, whom Christ commandeth him to pity and love. And in that ingorance he walketh, that is worketh evil, and loveth the things of the world and seeketh in them the lusts of the flesh, which are the quenching of the Spirit, and death of the soul, and for love of them hateth his brother. And this ignorance of Christ, which is unbelief, is the cause of all the wickedness that we do unto our brethren.

He that hateth his brother is in ignorance.

Ignorance.

I write unto you, little children, that your sins are forgiven you for his name's sake. I write unto you, fathers, that ye know him that was from the beginning. I write unto you, young men, how that ye have overcome the wicked.

I write unto you that are young in the faith and yet weak, and therefore fall now and then, how that your sins are forgiven you as soon as ye repent and reconcile yourselves unto your brethren whom ye have offended, even for his name's sake only, and not for our own deeds, whether afore or after, or for any other man's deeds or satisfaction, save for his only.

When we have offended our brother if we reconcile ourselves unto him again, then are our sins forgiven.

I write unto you that are fathers in the doctrine of God, to teach other how that ye know him that was from the beginning and is no new thing, though he newly received our nature. And through knowledge of him which is the only light, and the door unto the knowledge of God, ye

are become fathers in the Scriptures. Or else ye had never understood it, though ye had studied never so much, as it appeareth by the indurate Jews, and also by our own new pharisees, which persecute the Scripture, and the true sense thereof, because they be drowned in the ignorance of Christ, as their deeds and contrary living well testify.

I write unto you, young men, that are strong in suffering persecutions, and fight for your profession, not with the sword, but with suffering, how that ye have overcome that wicked which poisoned the world at the beginning, and yet worketh in the children of darkness and unbelief; and that in believing the word of truth, as it followeth anon after.

I write unto you, young children, how that ye know the Father. I write unto you, fathers, how that ye know him that was from the beginning. I write unto you, young men, that ye be strong, and the word of God dwelleth in you, and that ye have overcome the wicked.

We cannot know the Father but by the Son.

I write unto you, young children, how that ye know the Father, whom ye love through knowledge of the Son, or else you had never known him as a Father, but as a judge and a tyrant, and had hated him. I write unto you fathers as before, how ye are fathers of all truth in knowing the Son. Or else ye had ever continued in darkness, remediless.

I write unto you, young men, how that ye are strong, and that your strength is the word of God, which dwelleth in your breast through faith, in which ye have overcome the wicked devil, and all his pomps; as it followeth (Chap. v.) This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.

Faith in Christ overcometh the world.

Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world. If a man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, as the

lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of good, are not of the Father, but are of the world. And the world vanisheth away, and the lust thereof. But he that doeth the will of God abideth ever.

Avarice or covetousness.

The love of the world quencheth the love of God. Balaam, for the love of the world, closed his eyes at the clear light which he well saw. For love of the world the old pharisees blasphemed the Holy Ghost, and persecuted the manifest truth which they could not improve. For love of the world many are this day fallen away, and many which stood on the truth's side, and defended it awhile, for love of the world have gotten them unto the contrary part, and are become the pope's mamalukes, and are waxed the most wicked enemies unto the truth, and most cruel against it. They know the truth but they love the world. And when they espied the truth could not stand with the honours which they sought in the world, they hated it deadly, and both wittingly and willingly persecuted it, sinning against the Holy Ghost. Which sin shall not escape here unpunished, as it shall not be without damnation in the world to come, but shall have an end here with confusion and shame, as had the glory of our right reverend father in God Thomas Wolsey, late cardinal and legate *a latere, &c.* Whom after his shitten death (as the saying is) his own servants which before exalted his glory, have sent to hell with grace and privilege.

The love of the world draweth many from Christ.

Thomas Wolsey, late cardinal of England.

By the lust of the flesh is understood lechery, which maketh a man altogether a swine; and by the lust of the eyes, is understood covetousness, which is the root of all evil, and maketh to err from the faith. (1 Tim. vii.) And then followeth pride, which three are the world, and captains over all other vices, and occasions of all mischief.

Lechery.

Covetousness.

Pride.

And if pride, covetousness and lechery, be the world, as St. John saith, then turn your eyes unto the spiritualty, unto the pope, cardinals, bishops, abbots, and all other prelates, and see whether such dignities be not the world,

Compare the world to the pope, cardinals, &c., and you shall find them to be the world.

and whether the way to them be not also the world! To get the old abbot's treasure, I think it be the readiest way to be the new. How few come by promotion except they buy it, or serve long for it, or both! To be well skilled in war and in polling, to maintain war and lusts, and to be a good ambassador, is the only way to a bishopric, or to pay truly for it. See whether pluralities, unions, tot-quots, and changing the less benefice and bishopric for the greater, (for the contrary change I trow was never seen) may be without covetousness and pride. And then if such things be the world, and the world not of God, how is our spiritualty of God? If pride be seeking of glory, and they that seek glory cannot believe, (John v.) how can our spiritualty believe in Christ? If covetousness turn men from the faith, how are our spiritualty in the faith? If Christ when the devil proffered him the kingdoms of the world and the glory thereof, refused them, as things impossible to stand with his kingdom, which is not of the world; of whom are our spiritualty which have received them? If covetousness be a traitor and taught Judas to sell his master; how should he not in so long time teach our spiritualty the same craft? namely, when they be of all king's secrets and the ambassadors of their secrets, and have thereto, throughout all Christendom, a secret council of their own, of the which never lay-man was partaker, and with which they turn the end of all appointments unto their own honour and profit? Covetousness hath taught them to bring in damnable sects, according unto the prophecy of Peter, and to corrupt the Scripture with false glosses, and to turn every good ordinance that had a virtuous beginning, unto vicious end. The promotions of the spiritualty corrupt their minds while they be yet in the shell and unhatched. For they come thither but for covetousness, and to avoid the cross of Christ in the world, except them that be compelled of their friends, or be so simple that they mark not their falsehood beforehand. Who, knowing the truth and loving it, would put

Pride.

Covetousness.

Note.

The promotions of the spiritualty corrupt their minds.

his head in the pope's halter that so muzzleth men's mouths that they cannot open them to defend any truth at all? When the temporal kings were in their high authority, then the general council repressed the enormities of the spiritualty. But since the pope, cardinals and bishops were exalted, and the emperors and kings became their servants, they would suffer nought to be determined in their councils that should reform the world of their devilish pride, insatiable covetousness, and stinking lechery, which may stand with no godly virtue. But the world which is not of God, shall at the last have an end with confusion, and they only abide that do the will of the Father, which will is, that we believe in the Son, and love one another. Let them therefore that have the world's good (I might say the world's god) use it, but not love it, that they may be ready to bestow it at the pleasure of God. And let them which have it not, desire it not, for it blindeth the eyes of the seeing. (Deut xvii.) But let them put their trust in God, which shall not fail them, nor leave them destitute of raiment and food, which Paul counselleth to be content with. The rich (as James saith) persecute the true believers. The rich will never stand forth openly for the word of God. If of ten thousand there spring one Nicodemus, it is a great thing.

Popes and bishops will suffer nothing that shall restrain their pride and covetousness.

Riches and covetousness blindeth the eyes of the seeing.

Little children, it is now the last hour: and as ye have heard that antichrist should come, even so now are many antichrists come already; whereby we know that it is the last hour. They went out of us, but were none of us; for had they been of us, they had continued with us. But that fortuned that it might appear, how they were not all of us.

Hour is here taken for time, the last hour is as much to say, as the last time. Though the apostles might not know when the last day shall be, and how long the world should endure, yet this was shewed them, and us by them,

Hour.

that antichrist should first come, and not only come, but also prevail, and be received after a worldly manner, and reign over all, and set up a long continuing kingdom with damnable sects and wonderful kinds of hypocrisy, that is to say, falsehood cloaked under a contrary pretence, as testifieth Paul and also Peter. Which antichrist began with the apostles, and sowed his doctrine among the doctrine of the apostles, preaching many things as the apostles did, and adding ever somewhat of his own, that the weeds might ever grow up together with the corn. Of which John gathered a sign, that the last day drew nigh, though he could not be sure how long it were thereto.

Antichrist.

Antichrist is one of the first that seeth the light, and cometh and preacheth Christ awhile, and seeketh his glory in Christ's gospel. But when he espied that there will no glory cleave unto that preaching, then he getteth him to the contrary party, and professeth himself an open enemy, if he cannot disguise himself, and hide the angle of his poisoned heresy under a bait of true doctrine.

The worldlings love the gospel, so long as it bringeth gain.

The apostles were clear eyed and espied antichrist at once, and put him to flight, and weeded out his doctrine quickly. But when charity waxed cold, and the preachers began to seek themselves, and to admit glory and honour of riches, then antichrist disguised himself after the fashion of a true apostle, and preached Christ wilily, bringing in now this tradition, and now that, to darken the doctrine of Christ; and set up innumerable ceremonies, and sacraments, and imagery, giving them significations at the first, but at the last the significations laid apart, preached the work as an holy deed, to justify and to put away sin, and to save the soul, that men should put their trust in works and in whatsoever was unto his glory and profit, and under the name of Christ, ministered Christ out of altogether, and became head of the congregation himself.

The papists powdered the doctrine of Christ with their dregs.

The pope hath put Christ from his rule and government.

The pope made a law of his own to rule his church by, and put Christ's out of the way. All the bishops swear

unto the pope, and all curates unto the bishops, but all forswear Christ and his doctrine.

But seeing John took a sign of the last day that he saw antichrist begin, how nigh ought we to think that it is, which after eight hundred years reigning in prosperity, see it decay again, and his falsehood to be disclosed, and him to be slain with the spirit of the mouth of Christ; that is, with that old doctrine that proceeded out of Christ's mouth: for Paul saith when antichrist is uttered, then cometh the end.

Antichrist hath been long among us.

But ye have anointing of that holy, and know all things. I write not unto you as though ye knew not the truth, but as unto them that know it, and how that no lie is of truth.

Christ in the Scripture is called the holy, because he only sanctifieth and halloweth us. And he is called Christ, that is to say, anointed, because he anointeth our souls with the Holy Ghost and with all the gifts of the same. Ye are not anointed with oil in your bodies, but with the Spirit of Christ in your souls: which Spirit teacheth you all truth in Christ and maketh you to judge what is a lie, and what truth, and to know Christ from antichrist. For except he taught your souls within, the pouring in of words at your ears were in vain. For they must be all taught of God. (John vi.) And the things of God no man knoweth save the Spirit of God; and the carnal man knoweth not the things of the Spirit of God; when contrary, the spiritual that is anointed with the Spirit judgeth all things. (1 Cor. ii.) And therefore we are forbidden to call us any master upon earth, (Mat. xxiii.) seeing we have all one Master now in heaven, which only teacheth us with his Spirit, though by the administration and office of a faithful preacher. Which preacher yet cannot make his preaching spring in the heart, no more than a sower can make his corn grow, nor can say, This

Christ only is called holy. Anointed.

The carnal man knoweth not the things of the Spirit of God.

man shall receive and this not; but soweth the word only and committeth the growing to God whose spirit breatheth where he listeth and maketh the ground of whose heart he lusteth fruitful, and chooseth whom he will at his own pleasure, and for no other cause known unto any man.

Who is a liar, but he that denieth that Jesus is Christ? The same is antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son.

Antichrist, who it is.

Forasmuch as antichrist and Christ are two contraries, and the study of antichrist is to quench the name of Christ, how can the pope and his sects be antichrist, when they all preach Christ? How was, say I again to thee, *Pelagius*, whose doctrine the pope defendeth in the highest degree, antichrist, and all other heretics? Verily, sir, the pope seeketh himself as all heretics did, and abuseth the name of Christ, to gather offerings, tithes and rents in his name, to bestow them unto his own honour and not Christ's, and to bring the conscience of the people into captivity under him through superstitious fear, as though he had such authority given him of Christ. And every syllable that hath a sound as though it made for his purpose, that he expoundeth falsely and fleshly, and therewith juggleth and bewitcheth the ears of the people and maketh them his own possession, to believe what him lusteth, as though it made no matter to them whether he preached true or false, so they believe and do as he biddeth them. But all the texts that shew his duty to do, he putteth out of the way, and all the texts thereto that set the consciences at liberty in Christ and prove our salvation to be in Christ only. And with *Pelagius* he preacheth the justifying of works, which is the denying of Christ. He preacheth a false binding and loosing with ear confession which is not in the trust and confidence of Christ's blood-shedding. He preacheth the false penance of deeds, not to tame the flesh that we sin no more, but to

The pope captivateth the understanding of all men with his superstitious rites and ceremonies.

Pelagius' heresy.

make satisfaction and to redeem the sin that is past. Which what other can it be save the denying of Christ, which is the only redemption of sin! He maketh of the works of the ceremonies, which were wont to be signs and remembrances of things to be believed or done, image service unto God and his saints which are spirits, to purchase, with the merits oft hem, whatsoever the blind soul imagineth, which all are the denying of Christ. For if thou wilt receive any anointing of grace or mercy any whence, save of him, he is no longer Christ unto thee. Christ is called Jesus, a Saviour; he is called *Christus*, king anointed over all men, of whom they must hold, and whose benefit must all they have. He is called Emmanuel, God is with us. For he only maketh God our God, our strength, power, sword and shield, and shortly our Father. He is called *Sanctus*, that is, holy, that halloweth, sanctifieth and blesseth all nations. And these be his names for ever, and be no names of hypocrisy, as we sometimes call him Thomas Curteis, which is but a churl; and as we call them curates which care for their parishes as the wolf for the flock; and them bishops that are overseers, which will so oversee, that they will suffer nought to be prosperous save their own commonwealth; and as some call themselves dead which live in all voluptuousness, and as some call themselves poor without having any thing proper, and yet live in all abundance: and as they shave and disguise themselves with garments and ornaments, to signify ever a contrary thing than that they be.

Jesus. Christus.

Emmanuel.

Sanctus.

Thomas Curteis, a churl.

Dead men.

Poor men.

Nay, Christ is no hypocrite, or disguised, that playeth a part in a play, and representeth a person or state which he is not; but is always that his name signifieth, he is ever a Saviour, and ever anointeth with grace, and ever maketh God with us, and ever sanctifieth. Neither is there any other to save and sanctify from sin or anoint with grace, or to set God at one with men. And these things which his name signify doth he ever unto all that have trust and

Christ is no disguised person.

confidence in his blood, as soon as they repent of the sin which they desire to be saved and sanctified from.

The pope and his shavelings are right antichrists

Now though the pope and his sects give Christ these names, yet in that they rob him of the effect, and take the significations of his names unto themselves, and make of him but an hypocrite, as they themselves be, they be right antichrists and deny both the Father and Son. For they deny the witness that the Father bare unto his Son, and deprive the Son of all the power and glory that his Father gave him.

Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father.

To know God.

For no man knoweth the Father but the Son and to whom the Son sheweth him. (Matt. xi.) Moreover if thou know not the mercy that God hath shewed thee in Christ, thou canst not know him as a Father. Thou mayst well besides Christ know him as a tyrant. And thou mayst know him by his works as the old philosophers did, that there is a God, but thou canst neither believe in his mercy, nor love his laws, which is his only worship in the spirit, save by Christ.

Let therefore abide in you that which ye heard at the beginning. If that which ye heard at the beginning shall remain in you, then shall ye continue in the Son, and in the Father. And this is the promise that he hath promised us, everlasting life.

The apostles' doctrine ought we to abide by.

If we abide in the old doctrine which the apostles taught, and hearken to no new; then abide we in the Son (for upon the Son build they us) and in the Father through confidence in the Son, and are heirs of everlasting life.

These things have I written unto you because of them that deceive you. And the anointing that ye received of him dwelleth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as that anointing teacheth you of all things, and is true, and is no lie: Even as it hath taught you, so abide therein.

When a true preacher preacheth, the Spirit entereth the hearts of the elect, and maketh them feel the righteousness of the law of God, and by the law the poison of their corrupt nature, and thence leadeth them through repentance unto the mercy that is in Christ's blood, and as anointment healeth the body; even so the Spirit through confidence and trust in Christ's blood healeth the soul, and maketh her love the law of God, and therefore is called anointing or anointment, and may well be signified by the oil of our sacrament. But outward oil can neither heal the soul, nor make her feel save as a sign, or as a bush at a tavern door quencheth a man's thirst, neither is it a thing to put trust in. Let us therefore follow the teaching of the spirit, which we have received (as Paul saith,) an earnest, to certify our hearts, and to make us feel the things of God, and not cleave to the traditions of men, in which is no feeling, but that one saith so, and another thus, confirming their assertions with glorious persuasions of wisdom, but not after the wisdom of God, which reasons another denieth with contrary sophisms: and so riseth brawling about vain words without all certainty.

Anointing.

Outward oil availeth nothing.

And now, little children, abide in him, that, when he shall appear, we may have confidence, and not be made ashamed of him at his coming.

Here are two things to be marked; one if we cleave unto Christ after the doctrine of the apostles, and as they

We must cleave to the doctrine of the apostles.

built us upon him, we shall be bold and sure of ourselves at his coming. As a servant which in his master's absence doth only his master's commandments, cannot be confounded at his coming home again. But and if we follow men's doctrine, how can we be bold, yea how should we not be ashamed with our teachers, unto whom then he should say (when they boast themselves how that they have been his vicars,) I know you not, depart from me ye that have wrought wickedness, and under my name have brought in damnable sects, and have taught your disciples to believe in other things than in me. Now the sum of all that the apostles taught, and how they built us upon Christ, is the New Testament. But the pope's doctrine is not there found, but improved. Confounded therefore shall he be, which witting and willing shutteth his eyes at the true light, and openeth them to believe his lies.

A sore saying to all hypocrites and teachers of false doctrine.

Another thing is this, all the Scripture maketh mention of the resurrection and coming again of Christ, and that all men, both they that go before, and they that come after, shall then receive their rewards together, and we are commanded to look every hour for that day. And what is done with the souls from their departing their bodies unto that day, doth the Scripture make no mention, save only that they rest in the Lord, and in their faith. Wherefore he that determineth aught of the state of them that be departed, doth but teach the presumptuous imaginations of his own brain; neither can his doctrine be any article of our faith. What God doth with them is a secret laid up in the treasury of God. And we ought to be patient, being certified of the Scripture, that they which die in the faith are at rest, and ought no more to search that secret, than to search the hour of the resurrection, which God hath put only in his own power. But this remember, that the whole nature of man is poisoned, and infected with sin. And the whole life of sin must be mortified. And the root of all sin and first vice we were infect with, is that we would be wise where God hath not

We must believe the resurrection, and not to be curious to understand the state of the souls departed, where they are, nor what they do.

taught us; as ye see how Eve would have been as God in the knowledge of good and bad. And therefore hath God hid many things in his power, and commanded that we shall search none of his secrets further than he hath opened them in his Scripture, to mortify this poison of all poisons, the desire to appear wise, and that we be ashamed to be ignorant in any thing at all. Wherefore they that violently make articles of the faith without God's word, are yet alive in the root of all sin and vice, and grow out of the devil, and not out of Christ. And their articles are of the blindness of the devil, and not of the light of Christ, for Christ's light hath testimony of the Scripture everywhere.

If ye know that he is righteous, know that all that work righteousness are born of him.

Our nature is to work wickedness, and so blind thereto that it can see no righteousness. And then it followeth that we must be born anew in Christ ere we can either do or yet know what is righteous. And in him we must first be made righteous ourselves, ere we can work righteous works, which conclusion is contrary unto the pope; for he saith, That the works do make the man righteous. And Christ's doctrine saith, That the man maketh the works righteous. A righteous man springeth out of righteous works, saith the pope's doctrine. Righteous works spring out of a righteous man, and a righteous man springeth out of Christ, saith Christ's doctrine. The works make the man righteous which before was wicked, saith the pope. The works declare that the man is righteous, saith Christ's doctrine; but the man was first made righteous in Christ, and the Spirit of Christ taught him what righteousness was, and healed his heart, and made him consent thereto, and to have his lust in righteousness, and to work righteously.

The doctrine of the pope is clean contrary to Christ's doctrine.

The third chapter.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

BEHOLD, what love the Father hath shewed us, that we should be called the sons of God. For this cause the world knoweth you not, because it knoweth not him. Dearly beloved, now we are the sons of God, though yet it appeareth not what we shall be. But we know that when he shall appear we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is.

The love of God to usward is exceeding great, in that he hath made us his sons without all deserving of us, and hath given us his Spirit through Christ, to certify our hearts thereof, in that we feel that our trust is in God, and that our souls have received health and power to love the law of God, which is a sure testimony that we are sons and under no damnation. Neither ought it to discourage us, or to make us think we were less beloved because the world hateth us, and persecute us, for the world knoweth us not. Neither any marvel, for the world could not know Christ himself for all his glorious coming with miracles and benefits in healing the sick and raising the dead. But for all the oppression of the world, we are yet sure that we are God's sons. And in like manner, though the glory that we shall be in appear not, yet we are sure that we shall be like him, when he appeareth. As darkness vanisheth away at the coming of the sun, and the world receiveth a new fashion, and is turned into light, and suddenly made glorious; even so when he appeareth, and we shall see him as he is, we shall, with the sight of him, be changed into the glory of his image, and made like him. And then shall the world both know him, and us, unto their shame and confusion.

The world could not know Christ.

The world shall know Christ.

And all that have this hope in him, purge themselves as he is pure.

The faith and hope of a Christian man, are no dead, idle, or barren things, but lively works, and fruitful. For when the law through conscience of sin hath slain the soul, then hope and trust in Christ's blood through certifying of the conscience, that the damnation of the law is taken away, quickeneth her again, and maketh her to love the law, which is the purifying of the soul, and her life, and serving the law in the inner man. And then the said gifts of hope and faith stretch themselves forth unto the members, dead with natural lust, consent, and custom to sin; and quickeneth them, and purgeth them with the wholesome penance of Christ's doctrine, and make them serve the law outward, and bear wholesome fruit of love unto the profit of their neighbours, according to Christ's love unto us. For if the Spirit of Christ with which God anointeth us and maketh us kings, and sealeth us and maketh us his sure and several kingdom, and which he giveth us in earnest, (2 Cor. i.) and with which he changeth us into the image of Christ, (2 Cor. iv.) dwell in our souls through faith, the same Spirit cannot but quicken the members also, and make them fruitful. (Rom. viii.) Wherefore the faith and hope of the pope which by their own confession, may stand with all wickedness, and consent unto all evil, and be without repentance toward God's law (as it appeareth by their three capital sins touched of John a little above: pride, covetousness and lechery) are no true faith and hope, but vain words and visures only, according to his other disguising and names of hypocrisy.

A Christian man's faith and hope are not idle.

The faith of a Christian man.

The pope's faith.

All that commit sin, commit unrighteousness; for sin is unrighteousness.

That the English calleth here unrighteous, the Greek calleth *Anomia*, unlawfulness or breaking the law. So

What sin is. that all sin is breaking of God's law, and only the trans-
The sum of God's law. gression of God's law is sin. Now all God's laws are contained in these two points, believe in Christ, and love thy neighbour. And these two points are the interpreting and expounding of all laws, so that whatsoever edifieth in faith and love, is to be kept as long as it so doth. And whatsoever hurteth faith or love, is to be broken immediately, though king, emperor, pope or an angel command it. And all indifferent things that neither help nor hurt faith and love, are whole in the hands of father, mother, master, lord and prince. So that if they will sin against God, and overlade our backs, we may well run away, if we can escape, but not avenge ourselves. But and if they will break into thy conscience, as the pope doth with his dumb traditions, and saith, To do this saveth thy soul, and to leave it undone loseth thy soul; then defy them as the works of antichrist, for they make thee sin against the faith that is in Christ's blood, by which only thy soul is
Love breaketh the law. saved, and for lack of that only damned. And how love breaketh the law take an example. It is a good law that men come to the church on the Sundays to hear God's word, and to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, in remembrance of his benefits, and so strengthen thy soul for to walk in his love, and in the love of our neighbour for his sake, &c., yet if my father, mother, or any other that requireth my help be sick, I break that good commandment, to do my duty to my elders or my neighbour. And thus all laws are under love, and give room to love. And love interpreteth them, yea and breaketh them at a time, though God himself command them. For love is lord over all laws.

And ye know that he appeared to take away our sins; and there is no sin in him.

Christ died not alone to purchase pardon for our foresins, but also to slay all sin and the life of sin in our mem-

bers. For all we that are baptized in the name of Christ saith Paul, (Rom. vi.) are baptized to die with him concerning sin, and that as he after his resurrection dieth no more, so we after our baptism should walk in a new life and sin no more. Our members are crucified with him, in all that pertaineth unto the life of sin. And if in Christ be no sin, then how can there be wilful sin in the faith that is in him, or in the quick members that through faith grow out of him? Every man therefore that hath the true faith of Christ, purgeth himself, as he is pure.

We are baptized to die with Christ concerning sin.

All that abide in him sin not. And all that sin have neither seen him nor known him.

As there is no sin in Christ the stock, so can there be none in the quick members that live and grow in him by faith. And they that give themselves to sin have neither seen, known, or felt by faith the mercy that is in him. Our holy father then which forbiddeth matrimony and giveth his diciples licences with his holy blessing to keep whores; and pluralities, unions, and totquots, to rob the parishes; hath neither seen nor known Christ, no more have his disciples that consent unto his iniquity. And if they know him not, they cannot truly describe him unto us. It followeth then, that their preaching is but hypocrisy.

The filthiness of the pope's doctrine.

Little children let no man beguile you. He that worketh righteousness is righteous as he is righteous.

Judge men by their deeds. For whosoever hath the light of God in his soul, he will let his light shine, that men shall see his good works. And therefore where ye see not the righteousness of works in the members outward, there, be sure, is no righteousness of faith in the heart inward. Let no man mock you with vain words. Whosoever preacheth Christ in word and deed, him take

Where true faith is, there proceedeth good works.

He that preacheth Christ in word and deed, him take for Christ's vicar.

for Christ's vicar. And them that would prove themselves his vicars with sophistry, and when it is come to the point make a sword only their mighty arguments, and live contrary to all his doctrine, and in all their preachings blaspheme and rail on his blessed blood, take for the vicars of antichrist.

He that sinneth is of the devil, for the devil sinneth from the beginning. But for this cause appeared the Son of God, even to destroy the works of the devil. All that are born of God do no sin, for his seed abideth in them: and they cannot sin, because they be born of God: And hereby are the sons of God known, and also the sons of the devil.

God and the devil are two contrary fathers, and two contrary fountains, and two contrary causes: the one of all goodness, the other of all evil. And they that do evil are born of the devil, and first evil by that birth, ere they do evil. For ere a man do any evil outward of purpose, he conceived that evil first in his mind and consented unto it, and so was evil in his heart ere he wrought evil, and ere he conceived evil in his heart he was born of the devil and had received of his seed and nature; by the reason of which nature, seed and birth, he worketh evil naturally, and can do no other. As Christ saith, (John viii.) ye are of your father the devil and therefore will do the lusts of your father.

The man is first evil.

The man is first good.

And on the other side, they that do good are first born of God and receive of his nature and seed, and, by the reason of nature and seed, are first good ere they do good by the same rule. And Christ, which is contrary to the devil, came to destroy the works of the devil in us and to give us a new birth, a new nature, and to sow new seed in us, that we should, by the reason of that birth sin no more. For the seed of that birth, that is to wete the Spirit of God and the lively seed of his word, sown in

our hearts, keepeth our hearts that we cannot consent to sin, as the seed of the devil holdeth the hearts of his, that they cannot consent to good. This is contrary unto the pope in two points, in one that he saith, that our good deeds make us first good, and teacheth us not to believe in Christ's blood, there to be washed and made first good. And in another that he saith, God chooseth us first for our good qualities and properties, and for the enforcement and good endeavour of our free-will. What good endeavour is there where the devil possesseth the whole heart, that it consent to no good?

The pope's doctrine.

And, finally, there is great difference between the sin of them that believe in Christ unfeignedly, and the sin of them that believe not. For they that believe, sin not of purpose and of consent to wickedness that it is good, casting and compassing aforehand without grudge of conscience to bring their purpose about. As ye see our hypocrites have vexed all Christendom this twenty years, to bring a little lust to effect. Their fathers conceived mischief eight hundred years ago. And the sons consent unto the same and have no power to depart therefrom. And therefore their sin is devilish and under the damnation of the law. But if he that believeth, sin; he doth it not of purpose, or that he consenteth unto the life of sin; but of infirmity, chance, and some great temptation that hath overcome him. And therefore his sin is venial and under mercy and grace, though it be murder, theft, or adultery; and not under the damnation of the law. So that his father shall scourge him, but not cast him away or damn him. Mark in the sin of Saul and of David. Saul ever excused his sin, and could not but persecute the will of God. And David confessed his sin, with great repentance at the first warning, whensoever he forgot himself.

The faithful and unfaithful sin diversly.

All that work not righteousness are not of God. Nor he that loveth not his brother. For this is the tidings

which ye heard at the beginning, that we should love one another, and not be as Cain which was of the devil and slew his brother. And wherefore slew he him? for his deeds were evil and his brother's righteous. Marvel not my brethren though the world hate you.

The law of righteousness is, that we love one another as Christ loved us, and he that hath not this law living in his heart, and when the time is, bringeth not forth the fruits thereof, the same is not of God, but of the devil; whose birth and properties of the same ye see described in Cain, how he resisted God and persecuted the children of God for their belief and works thereof. And as ye see in Cain and his brother Abel, so shall it ever continue between the children of God and of the devil unto the world's end. Wonder not therefore though the world hate you.

We know that we are translated from death to life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not his brother abideth in death. All that hate their brethren are murderers, and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him.

If thou love thy brother in Christ, and art ready to do and to suffer for him as Christ did for thee, then thou art sure thereby that thou art the son of God, and heir of life and delivered from death and damnation. So have Christian men signs to know whether they be in a state of grace or no. And on the other side he that hath no power to love his brethren, may be sure that he is in the state of death and damnation. Another is this, let every man look upon his heart, and be sure that he which hateth his brother hath slain him before God and is a murderer. And murderers shall not obtain the kingdom of God. (Gal. v.) But are Cain's brethren and the devil's children, and are heirs of death and ever under damnation.

Compare the regiment of the spiritualty, which have had the temporal sword in their hands now above eight hundred years unto this doctrine of John, and judge whether they have led us truly after the steps of Christ's doctrine.

Hereby we are assured of love, because he left his life for us, and therefore ought we to leave our lives for our brethren. He then that hath the substance of the world, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?

If we felt the love of Christ's death, it would sure set our heart on fire to love him again and our brethren for his sake, and should never cease to slay our resisting members until we could not only be well content that our brethren were in a more prosperous state than we, but also until we could bless them when they curse us, and pray for them when they persecute us, and to suffer death for them, to testify the word of their soul's health unto them, and with love to overcome them, and to win them unto Christ. If now every Christian man ought to have this rule of his profession before his eyes to learn it, that he should love his brother as Christ did him, to depart with his life for his brother's ensample, how far are they off from good scholars, that cannot find in their hearts to depart with a little of the abundance and superfluity of their temporal goods to help their neighbour's need!

We must recompence evil with goodness.

My little children, let us not love in word, nor with the tongue; but with the deed, and of a truth. For thereby we know that we be of the truth, and so shall we certify our hearts in his sight.

If we have power to work, then doth the work certify our hearts that our faith in Christ, and love to God, and our neighbour for his sake, are unfeigned, and that we are

Good works declare where good faith is.

true children, and no hypocrites. And then are we bold in our conscience before God. And this is it that Peter meaneth, (2 Pet. i.) where he biddeth us minister in our faith virtue, godly living, and all manner of good works, and therewith to make our vocation and election, or our calling and choosing sure. For the sight of the work doth certify us, that God hath called us, and chosen us unto grace and mercy.

But, and if when the time of working is come, I fly and have no power to work, then will our conscience accuse us of sin and transgression within the heart before God, and so for fear of the rod we dare not be bold, but draw back and stand aloof.

Let a child have never so merciful a father, yet if he break his father's commandments, though he be not under damnation, yet is he ever chid and rebuked, and now and then lashed with the rod: by the reason whereof he is never bold in his father's presence. But the child that keepeth his father's commandments, is sure of himself, and bold in his father's presence to speak and ask what he will. They that minister well get them good degree and great confidence in the faith that is in Christ Jesus, saith Paul, (1 Tim. iii.) He that worketh, is bold before God and man. For his conscience accuseth him not within, neither have we ought to wite him withal or to cast in his teeth. And as without the sight of the works, James the apostle cannot see thy faith, (James ii.) no more shalt thou ever be sure or bold before God or man.

But if our hearts condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things.

If our conscience accuse us of sin, God is so great and so mighty that it cannot be hid.

Dearly beloved, if our hearts condemn us not, then we trust to Godward. And whatsoever we ask, that

shall we receive of him, because we keep his commandments and do the things which are pleasant in his sight.

Keeping of the commandments maketh a man see his faith and to be bold therein. And faith when it is without conscience of sin, goeth into God boldly, and is strong and mighty in prayer to conjure God by all his mercies, and therewith obtaineth whatsoever he asketh, of all his promises. And the text saith, because we keep his commandments. Yea, verily his commandments make us bold. But the keeping of men's traditions and dumb ceremonies make us not bold before God, nor certify our conscience that our faith is unfeigned. Thou shalt not know by sprinkling thyself with holy water, nor kissing the pax, nor with taking ashes, or though thou were anointed with all the oil in Thames street, that thy faith is sure. But, and if thou couldest find in thine heart to bestow both life and goods upon thy neighbour in a just cause, and hast proved it; then art thou sure, that thou lovest Christ, and feelest that thou hast thy trust in his blood.

And this is his commandment, That we believe in his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, as he gave commandment.

Faith is the first and also the root of all commandments. And out of faith springeth love: and out of love works. And when I break any commandment I sin against love. For had I loved I had not done it. And when I sin against love I sin against faith. For had I earnestly and with a full trust remembered the mercy that Christ hath shewed me, I must have loved. Wherefore when we have broken any commandment, there is no other way to be restored again, than to go through repentance unto our faith again, and ask mercy for Christ's sake. And as soon as we have received faith that our sin is forgiven, we shall

Faith is the root of all commandments.

immediately love the commandment again, and through love receive power to work.

And he that keepeth his commandments abideth in him, and he in him. And hereby we know that there dwelleth in us of his Spirit which he gave us.

Through the works we are sure that we continue in Christ, and Christ in us, and that his Spirit dwelleth in us. For his Spirit it is that keepeth us in faith, and through faith in love, and through love in works.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

DEARLY beloved, believe not every spirit, but prove the spirits whether they be of God. For many false prophets are gone out into the world.

Spirits.

Spirits are taken here for preachers, because of the preaching or doctrine, which, if it be good, is of the Spirit of God; and if it be evil, of the spirit of the devil. Now ought we not to believe every man's doctrine unadvisedly, or condemn any man's preaching ere it be heard and seen what it is. But a Christian man's part is to examine, judge and try it, whether it be true or no. Quench not the spirit saith Paul, (1 Thess. the last.) Neither despise prophecyings, but prove all things, and keep that which is good. Destroy not the gifts of the Spirit of God, but try whether they be of God, and good for the edifying of his congregation: and keep that which is good and refuse that which is evil. And suffer every person that hath any gift of God, to serve God therein, in his degree and estate, after a Christian manner and a due

We may not believe every doctrine that is taught and preached, but we must first examine it with the touch-stone of God's word, and so either receive it or reject it.

order. Why shall we try the doctrines? Verily for there be many false prophets abroad already. We told you before that antichrist should come, as our master Christ told us that he should come. But now I certify you that antichrist's kingdom is begun already; and his disciples are gone out to preach. Try therefore all doctrine. Wherewith shall we try it? With the doctrine of the apostles, and with the Scripture which is the touchstone: yea and because ye love compendiousness, ye shall have a short rule, to try them withal.

The trial of all doctrine.

Hereby know ye the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God. And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God. And the same is that spirit of antichrist, of whom ye have heard that he should come; and even now he is in the world already.

Whatsoever opinion any member of antichrist holdeth, the ground of all his doctrine is to destroy this article of our faith, that Christ is come in the flesh. For though the most part of all heretics confess that Christ is come in the flesh after their manner, yet they deny that he is come as the Scripture testifieth, and the apostles preached him to be come. The whole study of the devil and all his members is, to destroy the hope and trust that we should have in Christ's flesh, and in those things which he suffered for us in his flesh, and in the testament and promises of mercy which are made us in his flesh. For the Scripture testifieth that Christ hath taken away the sin of the world in his flesh, and that the same hour that he yielded up his spirit into the hands of his Father, he had full purged, and made full satisfaction for all the sins of the world. So that all the sin of the world, both before his passion and after, must be put away through repentance toward the law, and faith and trust in his blood,

Antichrist will not confess that Christ is come in the flesh.

without respect of any other satisfaction, sacrifice or work. For if I once sin the law rebuketh my conscience, and setteth variance between God and me. And I shall never be at peace with God again, until I have heard the voice of his mouth, how that my sin is forgiven me for Christ's blood sake. And as soon as that I believe, I am at peace with God, (Rom. v.) and love his law again, and of love work.

And that Christ hath done this service in his flesh, deny all the members of antichrist. And hereby thou shalt know them. All doctrine that buildeth thee upon Christ to put thy trust and confidence in his blood, is of God, and true doctrine. And all doctrine that withdraweth thine hope and trust from Christ, is of the devil and the doctrine of antichrist. Examine the pope by this rule, and thou shalt find that all he doth is to the destruction of this article. He wresteth all the Scriptures and setteth them clean against the wall, to destroy this article. He ministereth the very sacraments of Christ unto the destruction of this article; and so doth he all other ceremonies; and his absolution, penance, purgatory, dispensations, pardons, vows, with all disguisings. The pope preacheth that Christ is come to do away sins, yet not in the flesh, but in water, salt, oil, candles, boughs, ashes, friars' coats, and monks' cowls, and in the vows of them that forswear matrimony to keep whores, and swear beggary, to possess all the treasure, riches, wealth and pleasures of the world: and have vowed obedience, to disobey with authority, all the laws both of God and man. For in these hypocritish and false sacrifices, teacheth he us to trust for the forgiveness of sins, and not in Christ's flesh.

Doctrine that is of God.

Doctrine that is of the devil.

The pope's doctrine of Christ.

Ye are of God, little children, and have overcome them. For greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world.

He that dwelleth in you, and worketh in you through

faith, is greater than he which dwelleth and worketh in them through unbelief. And in his strength, ye abide by your profession, and confess your Lord Jesus, how that he is come in the flesh, and hath purged the sin of all that believe in his flesh. And through that faith ye overcome them in the very torments of death. So that neither their jugglings, neither their pleasures, neither their threatnings, nor their torments, nor the very death wherewith they slay your bodies, can prevail against you.

God is the worker in us by faith that we have in him.

They be of the world, and therefore they speak of the world, and the world attendeth unto them. We be of God, and he that knoweth God heareth us. And he that is not of God heareth us not. And hereby we know the spirit of truth, and the spirit of error.

There be and ever shall be two generations in the world: one of the devil which naturally hearken unto the false apostles of the devil, because they speak so agreeable unto their natural complexion. And another of God, which hearken unto the true apostles of God, and consent unto their doctrine. And this is a sure rule to judge spirits withal, that we may judge them to have the spirit of truth, which hearken unto the true doctrine of Christ's apostles; and them to have the spirit of error which hearken unto worldly and devilish doctrine, abhoring the preaching of the apostles. And look whether the pope's doctrine be worldly or no, if pride and covetousness be worldly, yea and lechery too. For what other is all his doctrine, than of benefices, promotions, dignities, bishoprics, cardinalships, vicarages, parsonages, prebends, change of bishoprics and resigning of benefices; of unions, pluralities, totquots, and that which cometh once into their hands, may not out again; yea, and of whores and concubines, and of captiving of consciences for covetousness, and all that hearken to that doctrine abhor

Two generations in the world.

The pope's doctrine is worldly.

the doctrine of the apostles, and persecute it, and them that preach it.

Dearly beloved, let us love one another, for love is of God. And all that love are born of God, and know God. And he that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love.

John singeth his old song again, and teacheth an infallible and sure token, which we may see and feel at our fingers' ends, and thereby be out of all doubt that our faith is unfeigned, and that we know God, and be born of God; and that we hearken unto the doctrine of the apostles purely and godly, and not of any curiosity, to seek glory and honour therein unto ourselves, and to make a cloak thereof to cover our covetousness and filthy lusts. Which token is, if we love one another. For the love of a man's neighbour unfeignedly springeth out of the unfeigned knowledge of God in Christ's blood. By which knowledge we be born of God, and love God and our neighbours for his sake. And so he that loveth his neighbour unfeignedly, is sure of himself, that he knoweth God and is of God unfeignedly. And contrariwise, he that loveth not, knoweth not God. For God in Christ's blood is such a love, that if a man saw it, it were impossible that he should not break out into the love of God again, and of his neighbour for his sake.

He that loveth God is born of God.

The fountain of love.

Herein appeared the love of God unto usward, because God sent his only son into the world, that we should live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his son, a satisfaction for our sins.

If a man had once felt within in his conscience the fierce wrath of God toward sinners, and the terrible and most cruel damnation that the law threateneth; and then beheld

with the eyes of a strong faith, the mercy, favour and grace, the taking away of the damnation of the law and restoring again of life, freely offered us in Christ's blood, he should perceive love, and so much the more, that it was shewed us when we were sinners and enemies to God; (Rom. v.) and that without all deservings, without our endeavouring, enforcing and preparing ourselves, and without all good motions, qualities and properties of our freewill. But when our hearts were as dead unto all good working, as the members of him whose soul is departed; which thing to prove, and to stop the blasphemous mouths of all our adversaries, I will, of innumerable texts rehearse one in the beginning of the second chapter to the Ephesians; where Paul saith thus: Ye were dead in trespass and sin, in which ye walked according to the course of the world, and after the governor that ruleth in the air, the spirit that worketh in the children of unbelief, among which we also had our conversation in time past, in the lusts of our flesh, and fulfilled the lusts of the flesh and of the mind (so that the flesh and the mind were agreed both to sin, and the mind consented as well as the flesh) and were by nature the children of wrath as well as other. But God, being rich in mercy, through the great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sin, hath quickened us with Christ; for by grace are ye saved; and with him hath raised us up, and with him has made us sit in heavenly things through Jesus Christ, for to shew in time to come the exceeding riches of his grace, in kindness to usward in Jesus Christ. For by grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himself. But we are his workmanship created in Christ Jesu unto good works, unto which God ordained us before, that we should walk in them. The text is plain, we were stone dead, and without life or power to do or consent to good. The whole nature of us was captive under the devil and led at his will. And we

God first loved us before we could love him.

Eph. ii.

Herein appeareth the great and loving mercy of almighty God toward us, when we were yet sinners.

were as wicked as the devil now is (except that he now sinneth against the Holy Ghost) and we consented unto sin with soul and body, and hated the law of God. But God of his grace only quickened us in Christ, and raised us out of that death, and made us sit with Christ in heavenly things. That is, he set our hearts at rest, and made us sit fast in life of Christ's doctrine, and unmoveable from the love of Christ. And finally we are, in this our second birth, God's workmanship and creation in Christ, so that as he which is yet unmade, hath no life nor power to work, no more had we till we were made again in Christ. The preaching of mercy in Christ quickened our hearts through faith wrought by the Spirit of Christ, which God poured into our hearts ere we wist.

Dearly beloved, if God so loved us, then ought we love one another.

If we felt the love of God in Christ's blood, we could not but love again, not only God and Christ, but also all that are bought with Christ's blood. If we love God for the pleasures that we receive, then love we ourselves. But if we love him to do him pleasure again: that can we no otherwise do, than in loving our neighbours for his sake, them that are good, to continue them in their goodness, and them that are evil, to draw them to good. Love is the instrument wherewith faith maketh us God's sons, and fashioneth us like the image of God, and certifieth us that we so are. And therefore commandeth Christ, (Matt. v.) Love your enemies, Bless them that curse you, pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be the sons of your heavenly Father, which maketh his sun rise over good and bad, and sendeth his rain upon just and unjust: yea, which made the sun of his mercy shine upon us, and sent the rain of the blood of his dear and only child upon our souls, to quicken us and to make us see love to love again.

Love maketh us the sons of God.

No man hath at any time seen God. If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfect in us.

No man hath seen God.

Though we cannot see God, yet if we love one another, we be sure that he abideth in us, and that his love is perfect in us: that is, that we love him unfeignedly. For, to love God truly and to give him thanks, is only to love our neighbour for his sake. For upon his person thou canst bestow no benefit. And forasmuch as we never saw God, let us make no image of him, nor do him any image-service after our own imagination, but let us go to the Scripture, that hath seen him, and there wete what fashion he is of, and what service he will be served with. Blind reason saith, God is a carved post, and will be served with a candle. But Scripture saith, God is love, and will be served with love. If thou love thy neighbour, then art thou the image of God thyself, and he dwelleth in the living temple of thine heart. And thy loving of thy neighbour for his sake, is his service and worship in the spirit, and a candle that burneth before him in thine heart, and casteth out the light of good works before the world, and draweth all to God, and maketh his enemies leave their evil, and come and worship him also.

The Scripture hath seen God.

Hereby we know that we abide in him, and he in us. For he hath given us of his Spirit.

By this badge of love we are known to have the Spirit of God.

He that hath not Christ's Spirit, the same is none of his. (Rom. viii.) If we have the Spirit of God, then are we sure. But how shall we know whether we have the Spirit? Ask John, and he will say, If we love one another.

And we have seen and do testify that the Father hath sent his Son, the Saviour of the world. Whosoever

confesseth that Jesus is the Son of God, in him dwelleth God, and he in God. And we have known and believed the love that God hath to us.

He that believeth that Jesus is God's Son, hath God in him.

First, the apostles taught no fables, but that they saw and received of God by the witness of his Spirit. Secondarily, John ascendeth up step higher, from love to faith, and saith, he that believeth that Jesus is God's Son, hath God in him. And I doubt not but the pope and his defenders will answer John and say, then the devil hath God in him, and is also in God. For other faith than such as the devil hath, felt they never any. But John preventeth them, We have known and believed the love that God hath to us. That is, we believe not only with story faith, as men believe old chronicles, but we believe the love and mercy that God shewed us, and put our trust and confidence therein; (and so taketh Scripture belief) we believe that Jesus is the Son of God, made man and slain for our sins, which is a token of great love. And that love believe we and trust thereto. Where Paul saith, (1 Cor. xii.) No man can call Jesus Lord except the Holy Ghost had taught him. But through the Holy Ghost he meaneth, not with the mouth only, but in the heart, with unfeigned faith, putting his hope and trust in the Lordship which he hath over sin, damnation, hell, and death. For so could no man call Jesus Lord, except the Holy Ghost had taught him, as Christ saith, (Matt. xvi.) flesh and blood shewed thee not that.

Faith taketh hold of Christ's death and deserving.

But yet how shall I see my faith? I must come down to love again, and thence to the works of love, ere I can see my faith. Not always, but sometimes thou shalt feel thy faith without the outward deed, as in great adversity and persecution when the devil assaulteth thee with desperation, and layeth thy sins before thee, and would bear thee in hand that God had cast thee away and left thee succourless, for thy sins' sake. Then cometh faith forth with her shield, and turneth back again the darts of the

devil, and answereth: Nay, for Jesus is the Son of God: yea, and my very God and my very lord, and hath taken away my sins and all damnation. And this trouble and adversity which is come upon me, by setting of thee and one of thy limbs, is only to make me feel the mercy of my Father and his power and help within in my soul, and to slay the rest of the poison which remaineth in the flesh.

God is love; and he that abideth in love abideth in God, and God in him.

This have we heard above, and it is easy to be understood.

Herefore is love perfect with us, that we should have confidence in the day of judgment.

Howsoever this text sound, this me thinketh should be the meaning: that we should provoke each other to love, and ever have those examples of edifying before our eyes that should most move us to love. For perfect love serveth to make a man bold, because it is the keeping of the commandments. And therefore he that is perfect in love, when he seeth himself yet in this world, to be unto his neighbour as God is unto him, and to be like his heavenly Father in all example of kindness, is bold in the presence of God: yea, though he come to judge sinners. When on the other side, they that continue ever in their wickedness and grow not in love, fall often. And therefore their conscience ever accuseth them and putteth them in fear, by the reason of the fresh memory of the offence, that they cannot at once be bold, though they have never so great promises of mercy.

Love maketh the faithful and Christian man to be bold.

There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear: for fear hath painfulness. He therefore that feareth, is not perfect in love.

Love.

Love is not painful, but maketh all things easy and pleasant: fear of punishment for the trespass newly committed is painful: Therefore where love is perfect there is no such fear. Love is the fulfilling of all commandments. And therefore where love is perfect, there is no sin. And where conscience doth not accuse of sin, there is faith bold to go in to God and to stand before him, and look him in the face, and to conjure him by all his mercies, and to ask the petitions of his desire. Lack of love is the breaking of the commandments and cause of sin. And where the conscience accuseth of sin, their faith is abashed, dismayed, ashamed and afraid to go in, for fear of rebuke. Love therefore serveth to make a man bold in the day of judgment, and in all temptations.

Fear.

John speaketh not generally of all manner [of] fear, but of that only which the conscience of sin putteth a man in. For divers fears there be that accompany love and grow as she doth. The more a woman loveth her child, the more she careth for it, and feareth lest ought should chance it amiss. Even so the more we love our brethren, the more we care for them, and fear lest any temptation should trouble them. As Paul saith, (2 Cor. xi.) Who is sick and I am not sick? who is offended or hurt and mine heart burneth not? How cared he for Timothy, for Titus, and for all that were weak, and for the Corinthians, Galatians, and for all congregations! and how diligently wrote he to them in his absence! And the more we love God, the more diligent and circumspect are we, that we offend him not. And tell me, I pray thee, whosoever hast had experience, what a pain and grief, yea, and what a fretting corosy is it unto the heart of a true lover of God, to hear the poison generation of vipers, the pestilent sect of hypocritish pharisees, wittingly and willingly to blaspheme and rail on the open and manifest truth of the Holy Ghost!

If we love our brethren then are we careful for them.

The more we love God, the more diligent we are to do his will.

If ye will see how bold love is, go to Moses. (Exod. xxxii. and Numb. xiv.) And there behold how he conjureth

God and among all saith: Forgive this people, or put me out of the book that thou hast written. As who should say, they be thy people and thou commandest me to love them. And for thy sake I love them and teach them and care for them, as a mother that had borne them and love them no less than myself. Wherefore if thou love me as thou promisest me, then save them with me; or if not, then cast me away with them, and let me have such part as they take. And Paul said as much, Rom. ix. Look upon worldly love, and see what pageants she playeth now and then, and how drunken a thing it is: and be sure, where the love of God is perfect, she will not only go between bodily death and her lover, but also between him and hell. If a man would take of this, that a man might be so perfect in this life, that he might not be perfecter, it would not follow. For though the spirit at a time get the upper hand of the flesh, and winneth herself to God, that she cannot tell whether she be in the body or no; yet the flesh will pull her down again and not let her continue, and now and then pluck off some of her feathers, for mounting so high again. For Moses fell through unbelief well enough after that ferventness.

Where perfect love is there is no fear.

We love him, because he loved us first.

We deserve not the love of God first, but he deserveth our love, and loveth us first, to win us and to make us his friends of his enemies. And as soon as we believe his love, we love again. And so faith is mother of all love. And as great as my faith is, so great is love, though faith cannot be perfectly seen, but through the works of love and in the fire of temptation.

Faith is the mother of love.

If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar. For how can he that loveth not his brother whom he seeth, love God whom he seeth not? And this commandment have we of him, That he which loveth God, love his brother also.

A sure rule.

To love a man's neighbour in God, is a sure rule to know that we love God: and not to love him, is a sure token that we love not God: and to hate our neighbour is to hate God. For to love God is to do his commandments, as Christ saith, (John xv.) Ye are my lovers if ye do those things which I have commanded you: and the commandment is, to love our neighbours: then he that loveth not his neighbour, loveth not God. And likewise to hate the commandment, is to hate God that commanded it: and the commandment is to love our neighbours: he then that hateth his brother whom God biddeth him love, hateth God.

If we love God, we must do his commandments, and his commandment is to love our neighbours.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

ALL that believe that Jesus is Christ, are born of God. And all that love him which begat love him that is begotten of him. In this we know that we love the sons of God, when we love God and keep his commandments. For this is the love of God that we keep his commandments.

Faith maketh us God's sons.

This is a sure conclusion that we be born of God through faith. And that faith maketh us God's sons, in that we believe that Jesus is Christ: as the first chapter of John also testifieth, he gave them power to be the sons of God, in that they believed in his name.

What it is to believe that Jesus is Christ.

What it is to believe that Jesus is Christ, may be understood by that which is above rehearsed. It is a far other thing than as the devil believed it, against his will and to his great pain: or as they believe it which to fulfil their sin, envy the glory of Christ, and persecute his gospel,

forbidding to preach it or to read in it. To believe that Jesus is Christ, is to believe in Christ: that is, to believe earnestly, and to put all thy trust therein, and to lay the price of thy soul thereupon: that the son of Mary whom the angel commanded to be called Jesus, because he should save his people from their sins, is that Christ, that Messias, and that anointed which God promised the fathers should come and bless all nations, and anoint them with the oil of his Spirit, and with mercy and grace, and to deliver them from death of their souls, which is the consenting to sin, and to make them alive with consenting unto the law of God, and in certifying them that they be the sons of God: And to put the whole trust in all that he suffered in his flesh for thy sake, and all promises of mercy that are in him; and that thou be full persuaded that there is no other name under heaven given unto men to be saved from sin by, or to purchase forgiveness of the least sin that ever was committed.

Jesus the true Messias and the Saviour of the world from their sins.

Another conclusion is this, Whosoever loveth God, loveth all that believe in God. For all that love him that begetteth, love them that are begotten of him: and all that believe in God are begotten of God through that belief, and made his sons: then all that love God, love all that believe in God.

All that love God, love all that believe in him.

Another conclusion is this, When we love God and his law, then we love the sons of God. Which is this wise proved: the love of God is to keep the law of God: by the text before and after the law of God, is to love our neighbours, and therefore if we love God in keeping his laws we must needs love the sons of God.

He that loveth God, loveth also the sons of God.

But John should seem to be a very negligent disputer to many men, in that he here certifieth us of the love of our neighbours by the love of God, when above he certifieth us that we love God because we love our neighbours. He seemeth to do, as I heard once a great clerk in Oxford, stand half an hour in a pulpit to prove that Christ was a true prophet by the testimony of John Bap-

tist; and another half hour to prove that John the Baptist a true prophet by the authority of Christ; as we say, Claw me, claw thee: and as every thief might lightly prove himself a true man, in bearing record to another as false as he, and taking record of the same again. Which kind of disputing schoolmen call *Petitio principii*, the proving of two certain things, each by the other; and is no proving at all: as our holy father proveth the authority of Scripture by his decrees, (for the Scripture is not authentic but as his decrees admit it) and to make his decrees shine and appear glorious, and to obtain authority, he allegeth the Scripture after his juggling manner, to make fools stark mad.

But it is not so here, for both the demonstrations are certain, both the proof of the love of God and his law, by the love of my neighbour, and the proof of the love of my neighbour by the love of God and his law. For when two things are so joined together that they cannot be separated, then the presence of the one uttereth the presence of the other, whithersoever thou first seest. As if I see fire, I am sure that something doth burn. And if I smell burning, I am certified of fire. Even so the love of God is the cause why I love my neighbour; and my love toward my neighbour is the effect of the love of God. And these two loves are ever inseparable, so that whithersoever I feel first, the same certifieth me of the other.

The love of God and the love of my neighbour are inseparable.

John calleth the love of a man's neighbour the deeds of love, after the Hebrew speech, as to help at need. For the deed declareth what the man is within. Neither can my love to God and faith be seen to the world, save through the works. And by the works doth Christ command us to judge. So that if a man have evil works and continueth therein, he loveth not God nor knoweth God, no though he call himself master doctor, or God's vicar. Neither understandeth he God's word for all his high divinity; but is in all his preaching an hypocrite, a false

Works set forth and declare faith.

prophet, and a liar, though his preaching please the world never so well. Nevertheless, a man is certified that he loveth God ere he come at the work, by the testimony of the Spirit which is given him in earnest. The Spirit, saith Paul, (Rom. viii.) testifieth unto our spirit that we be the sons of God: and then it testifieth that we believe in God: for through faith are we sons. And then it certifieth me that I love God. For faith and love are inseparable. The Spirit through faith certifieth my conscience that my sins are forgiven, and I received under grace and made the very son of God, and beloved of God. And then naturally mine heart breaketh out into the love of God again, and I seek how to utter my love, and to do God some pleasure. And because I can neither do service nor pleasure unto his own person, my neighbour is set before me, to do God service and pleasure in him, and to be to him as Christ is in me, because he is my brother, bought with Christ's blood as I am. And I consent unto that law, and love it ere I come at the deed, and long after the deed. And then when I love my neighbour in the deed according to this law, I am sure that I love him truly. Or else if I examined not my love by this law, I might be deceived. For some love their neighbours for pleasure, profit, glory, and for their doing service only, as our spiritualty love us, and of that blessed love, do their busy cure to keep us in darkness: which love is a sign that a man hateth God and his neighbour thereto, and loveth himself only. But God's law is, that I should abstain from mine own pleasure and profit, and become my neighbour's servant, and bestow life and goods upon him, after the ensample of Christ. Wherefore if I love my neighbour out of the love of Christ, and after the ensample of his law, I am sure that I love him truly.

To do good to my neighbour is to do God good service.

And his commandments are not grievous. For all that is born of God overcometh the world: and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.

To love is not painful; the commandments are but love, therefore they be not grievous, because love maketh the commandments easy. The service that a mother doth unto her child is not grievous because she loveth it. But if she should do the tenth part unto one that she loved not, her heart would brast for impatience. Unto a man that feeleth not the love of Christ, it is as impossible to keep the commandments, as for a camel to enter through the eye of a needle. But impossible is possible and easy too, where the love of Christ is believed. For it followeth all that are born of God overcome the world; that is, to wit, the devil which is the ruler of the world, and his disciples which have their lust in his governance, and consent to sin both in body and soul, and give themselves to follow their lusts without resistance; and their own flesh which also consenteth to sin, do they overcome with all that moveth to sin. By what victory? Verily through faith. For if our souls be truly underset with sure hope and trust and continual meditations of Christ's love shewed already, and of succour, help and assistance that is promised in his name, and with the continual memory of their ensamples, which in times past have fought through faith and overcome; then were it impossible for the world with all his chivalry, to overthrow us with any assault or with any ordinance that he could shoot against us. For if that faith and meditation were ever present in us, then love through that faith, should easily overcome whatsoever peril thou couldest imagine. Read in the Bible and see what conquests faith hath made, both in doing and also suffering. The eleventh Chapter unto the Hebrews ministereth the ensamples abundantly. How mighty was David when he came to fight, and how overcame he through faith! And how mightier was he when he came to suffering, as in the persecution of the king Saul! Insomuch that when he had his most mortal enemy king Saul, that twelve years persecuted him against all right, in his hands to have done what he would with him, through faith he touched him not,

A goodly similitude.

All that are born of God overcome the world.

The conquests of faith.

nor suffered any man else to do, though he was yet all his life a man of war, and accustomed to murder and shedding of blood. For he believed that God should avenge him on his unrighteous king, upon whom it was not lawful to avenge himself.

Who is it that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?

If to believe that Jesus is God's son, be to overcome the world, then our prelates understand not what belief is, which affirm that the best belief and the worst man in the world may stand together.

This is he that came by water and blood, Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that testifieth, because the Spirit is truth. For there are three that bear witness in heaven. The Father, the word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one. And there are three which bear record in earth, the Spirit, water, and blood, and these three are one.

Christ had three witnesses.

Christ came with three witnesses, water, blood and spirit. He ordained the sacrament of baptism to be his witness unto us. And he ordained the sacrament of his blood, to be his witness unto us. And he poureth his spirit into the hearts of his, to testify and to make them feel that the testimony of those two sacraments are true. And the testimony of these three is, as it after followeth, that we have everlasting life in the Son of God. And these three are one full witness, sufficient at the most that the law requireth, which faith two or three at the most is one full sufficient witness. But, alas! we are not taught to take the sacraments for witnesses, but for image service, and to fore the work of them to God, with such a mind

The true doctrine of the sacraments is away from us.

as the old heathen offered sacrifices of beasts unto their gods. So that whatsoever testifieth unto us that we have everlasting life in Christ, that mouth have they stopped with a leavened mounchet of their pharisaical glosses.

If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater. For this is the witness that God hath borne of his Son.

If the witness of men, so they be three, is to be received, much more is the witness of God to be received. Now the witness that these three, water, blood and spirit bear, is the witness of God, and therefore the more to be believed.

He that believeth in the Son of God, hath witness in himself. And he that believeth not God, maketh him a liar, because he doth not believe the witness that God hath testified of his Son. And this is the witness, that God hath given us eternal life, and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son, hath life. And he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life.

The faithful have the true witness of God in their hearts.

The true believers have the testimony of God in their hearts, and they glorify God, witnessing that he is true. They have the kingdom of God within them, and the temple of God within them, and God in that temple, and have the Son of God, and life through him. And in that temple they seek God, and offer for their sins the sacrifice of Christ's blood, and the fat of his mercies in the fire of their prayers, and in the confidence of that sacrifice go in boldly to God their Father.

The unfaithful worship God in image service and outward popery.

But the unbelievers blaspheme God, and make him false, describing him after the complexion of their lying nature. And because they be so full stuffed with lies that they can receive nothing else, they look for the kingdom of God in outward things, and seek God in a temple

of stone, where they offer their image service and the fat of their holy deeds; in confidence whereof they go into God, and trust to have everlasting life. And though the text testifieth that this life is only in the Son, yet they will come at no sun-shining, but as unclean birds hate the light.

These things have I written unto you that believe in the name of the Son of God, that ye may know that ye have everlasting life, and that ye may believe in the Son of God.

The papists have not the faith of the apostles, neither do they know and therefore they rail on it.

They that have the faith of Christ's apostles, know that they have eternal life. For the Spirit testifieth unto their spirits that they are the sons of God, (Rom. viii.) and received under grace. Our doctors say they cannot know whether they be in the state of grace—therefore they have not the faith of the apostles. And that they know it not is the cause why they rail on it.

This is the confidence that we have in him, that if we ask ought according to his will, he heareth us. And if we know that he heareth us whatsoever we ask, we know that we have the petitions that we ask of him.

To ask in Christ's name, what it is.

Christ saith, (Matt. vii.) Ask and it shall be given you. And John, in the sixteenth chapter, Whatsoever ye ask in my name, he shall give it you. To ask in the name of Jesus Christ, and according to his will, be both one; and are nothing else but to ask the things contained in the promises and testament of God to usward, that God will be our Father, and care for us both in body and in soul; and if we sin of frailty, and repent, forgive us, and minister us all things necessary unto this life, and keep us that we be not overcome of evil, &c. Now if they which believe in Christ, are bold with God that he heareth them, and sure that he granteth their petitions, it followeth that they

which are not bold that he heareth them, nor sure that he granteth their petitions, do not believe in Christ. They that go to dead saints, with which they never spake nor wot where they be, be not bold that God will hear them, nor sure that he will grant their petitions, therefore they believe not in Christ. That they be neither bold nor sure, appeareth first by their deeds, and secondarily by their own confession, for they say, what should God hear them or grant them ought, seeing they be unworthy; yea, and they confirm it with a similitude of worldly wisdom, that they should be put back for their malapertness, and fare the worse, as if a rude fellow should break up into the king's privy chamber, and press unto his own person without knocking or speaking to any other officer; so that they believe it an augmenting of sin to go to God themselves, in the confidence of Christ's blood, as he bad them.

Such as lack faith in Christ wander they wot not whither

If a man see his brother sin a sin not unto death, let him ask: and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death, and for it, say I not that thou shouldest pray. All unrighteousness is sin. And there is a sin not to death.

Whatsoever sin we see in the world, let us pray and not despair. For God is the God of mercy. But for the sin to death, which is resisting grace and fighting against mercy, and open blaspheming of the Holy Ghost, affirming that Christ's miracles are done in Beelzebub, and his doctrine to be of the devil; I think that no Christian man, if he perceive it, can otherwise pray, than as Paul prayed for Alexander the coppersmith, (the 2 Tim. the last:) that God would reward him according unto his works. They that go back again after they know the truth, and give themselves willingly to sin, for to follow it and persecute the doctrine of truth by profession to maintain falsehood for their glory and vantage, are remediless: as ye may see Heb. ix. and x. Balaam so sinned; the false

The sin to the death.

prophets in the Old Testament so sinned; the pharisees so sinned; Alexander so sinned; and now many so sin; following their pride and covetousness.

We know that all that are born of God sin not; but he that is born of God keepeth himself, and the wicked touch him not.

All that are born of God cannot sin.

As thou readest in the third chapter, they that are born of God cannot sin, for the seed of God keepeth them. They cannot cast off the yoke of Christ, and consent to continue in sin, nor defy his doctrine, nor persecute it, for to quench it; or to maintain any thing contrary unto it. But in whatsoever captivity they be in the flesh, their hearts yield not; but imagine to break loose and to escape, and fly away unto the party and standard of their Lord Christ. And as men of war they ever keep watch and prepare themselves unto war, and put on the armour of God, the which is God's word, the shield of faith, the helmet of hope; and harness themselves with the meditation of those things which Christ suffered for us, and with the ensamples of all the saints that followed him, and think earnestly that it is their part to live as purely as the best, and come after as fast as they can. And yet in all their works they knowledge themselves sinners unfeignedly, as long as one jot of the perfectness that was in the deeds of Christ, is lacking in theirs. So that the devil cannot touch the hearts of them, neither with pride nor vain glory of pure living, neither to make them consenting unto the flesh in gross sins, if at a time they be taken tardy and catch a fall. Whatsoever chance them, the devil can catch no hold of them, to keep them still in captivity; but they will break loose again, and repent and do penance, to chaste their flesh that they come no more under the devil's claws.

The armour of a Christian man.

We know that we be of God, and that the whole world is set on mischief.

The world seeth not the things that are of God.

They that believe, that is to say, put their trust in Christ, see both their own glorious state in God, and also the wretched estate of the world in their wickedness. But the world as they know not God, nor the glory of the sons of God, even so they see not their own miserable estate in wickedness and damnation under the law of God, but the worse they are, the bolder they be and the surer of themselves, the further from repentance, and the more standing in their own conceits for the darkness that is in them. And therefore, say our doctors, a man cannot know whether he be in the state of grace or no, nor needeth to care therefore. And they be therefore the blind leaders of the blind.

We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us understanding to know him that is true: and we be in the truth through Jesus Christ. He is very God and eternal life.

Christ only is the fountain and fulness of all good gifts.

Christ is all and the fountain of all, and of his fulness receive we all. And as he poureth the gifts of his grace upon them that believe in him, so he giveth them understanding to know the very God, and that they be in the very God, and that they have obtained that through his purchasing; and leaveth not his sheep in darkness. And the same Jesus Christ is very God and eternal life: God and eternal life was he from the beginning, and became man for the great love he had to us, for to bring us unto his eternal life. And he that hath any other way thither, whether his own works or other men's, or works of ceremonies, or sacraments, or merits of saints, or of ought save Jesus Christ only, shall never come thither. The world seeth the pope, and seeth that they which be in the

He that seeketh any other way to eternal salvation, than by Christ, shall never come there

pope be lords in this world: and therefore they care to be in the pope: but whether they be in God or not, they say, it is not necessary to know.

Little children beware of images.

Serve none image in your hearts. Idolatry is Greek, and the English is image service: and an idolater is also Greek, and the English an image servant. Be not idolaters nor commit idolatry; that is, be none image servants, nor do any image service, but beware of serving all manner [of] images. And think it not enough to have put all the images of false gods out of the way, if ye now set up the image of very God and of his true saints in their rooms, to do the same service unto them, which ye did unto the other. For ye may do as strong image service unto the image of God and of his saints, as unto the images of false gods: yea, thou mayest commit as great idolatry to God, and yet before none outward image, but before the image which thou hast feigned of God in thine heart, as thou mayest before an outward image of the devil. The Jews in the temple of God where was none image of God, did as great image service to God, as the heathen unto their false gods: yea, the Jews, in doing to God the things which God commanded them, did commit worse idolatry and sinned more grievously against God, than the heathen did in offering unto their false gods; which thing to be true, the prophets testify. For when the Jews did their ceremonies and sacrifices: the meaning and signification lost, and the cause forgotten which God ordained them for: to flatter and please God with the gloriousness of the deed in itself, and to purchase ought of him for the costliness or properness of the present, what other made they of God in their imagination, than a child, whom if he cry or be displeased, men still with a puppet, or if we will have him to do ought, make him an horse of a stick.

Idolatry.

Idolater.

As great idolatry may be committed to the image of a saint, as was by the gentiles committed unto idols.

Gross worshipping of God.

If thou bring a bowl of blood and set it before God to flatter him, to stroke him, and to curry and claw him, as he were an horse, and imaginest that he hath pleasure and delectation therein, what better makest thou of God, than a butcher's dog? If thou bring the fat of thy beasts to God, for the same imagination, what makest thou of God, but one that had need of grease to grease shoes or smear boots? If thou burnest blood and fat together to please God, what other thing dost thou make of God, than one that had lust to smell to burnt flotess?

Ceremonies.

God commanded a courtesy of all first ripe fruits to be offered: not to be an image service, but a witness and testimony that he had made them grow, that the people should not forget God, but think on his benefits, and love him, and of love keep his commandments. And likewise if any had sinned against God's law, God commanded that they should repent, and then bring a beast and slay it, and offer the blood and the fat of the inwards; not to make satisfaction, but to testify only that God was pleased, and had of his mercy at the repentance of the heart forgiven the sin. The sacrifices of blood were ordained partly to be a secret prophesying of Christ's blood-shedding, and partly to be a testimony and certifying of our hearts, that the sin was forgiven and peace made between us and God, and not to be a satisfaction. For that were image service, and to make an image of God.

Sacrifices.

We read in the histories that when a love day or a truce was made between man and man, the covenants were rehearsed: and upon that, they slew beasts in a memorial and remembrance of the appointment only. And so were the sacrifices signs and memorials only, that God was at one with us. For the Jew could believe no words though an angel had spoken, without a token, as we hold up our fingers and clap hands. And likewise whatsoever they were bid to do, they must have had a token of remembrance, though it had been but a ring of a rush, as it is to see in the Bible.

The Jews could believe nothing without tokens

Even so our images, relics, ceremonies and sacraments were our memorials and signs of remembrance only. And he that giveth in his heart more to them than that, is an image servant. But when God is a Spirit, and worshipped in the spirit, we for lack of faith, being spiritless, and having no power to desire of God any spiritual thing, serve God in the body with imagined service, for such worldly things as our profession is to defy. Who kisseth a relic, or beholdeth an image for love of the saint's living, to follow the example? Nay we will fast the saints' evens, and go barefoot unto their images, and take pain to obtain greater pleasure in the world, and to purchase worldly things; as to maintain the body in lusts, that the soul cannot once wish for power to live as the saints lived, or to long for the life to come. If we went in pilgrimage to keep the remembrance of the saints' living in mind for our ensample, and fasted and went barefoot to tame the flesh, that it should not lust after such worldly things which we now desire of the saints, then did our fasting and pilgrimage going serve us, yea and the saint were yet our servant to edify us in Christ with the remembrance of his life left behind, to preach and to provoke us to follow the ensample. For our bodily service can be no service unto the saint which is a spirit, except we imagine him to be an image.

Sacrament and ceremonies were ordained only for remembrances.

Idolatry.

Saint White must have a cheese once in a year, and that of the greatest sort, which yet eateth no cheese. It shall be given to the poor in her name, say they. First, that to be false, we see with our eyes. Secondarily, Christ commandeth to care for the poor, and give them all that we may spare in his name, saying, that what is given them is given him, and what is denied them is denied him. If the law of Christ be written in thine heart, why distributest thou not unto thy brethren with thine own hands in the name of thy Saviour Jesus Christ which died both for them and thee, as thou hast vowed and promised to him in thy baptism?

We ought to be frank and to distribute to our poor brethren such as God hath sent us.

Superstitious popery is idolatry.

It is given unto saint White's chaplain. Saint White's chaplain hath a stipend already sufficient for a Christian man, and ought to receive no more, but therewith to be content, and to be an ensample of despising covetousness. Moreover, that priest that would follow the living of Jesus Christ, as saint White did, and teach his parishioners to do so, were a right chaplain of Christ. And they have a promise to be fed and clothed as well as ever was their master in the name of Christ. And so be they, and ever were, so that they need not to beg in the name of saint White.

What shall saint White do for thee again for that great cheese? (for I wot well it is not given for nought.) Give abundance of milk to make butter and cheese? All we that believe in Christ are the sons of God, and God hath promised to care for us, as much as we care for the keeping of his commandments, and hath promised that we shall receive whatsoever we ask to his honour and our need, of his hand. If then we be the natural sons of God, why run we from our father, a begging to saint White? Saint White sendeth no rain upon the earth, nor maketh the sun shine thereon, nor maketh the grass grow. Neither is there any God's word that he will now do so much for us at her request. But God hath promised if we will keep his laws to do so much for us at our own request, for the blood of his Son Jesus. What other thing then is thy serving of saint White, than lack of faith and trust to Godward in Christ's name, and a false faith of thy own feigning to saint Whiteward for thine image service or serving her with cheese, as though she were a bodily thing? And like disputation is it of all other saints.

In all our needs we must call upon God in the name of Jesus Christ and he will hear us.

And as we worship the saints with image service to obtain temporal things, even so worship we God. And as the Jews turned their sacrifices unto image service which were given them of God to be signs to move them to serve God in the spirit, even so have we our sacraments. And for an ensample let us take the mass, which, after

the pope's abuse of it, is the most damnable image service that ever was since it began. Christ, according to the testimony of the Scripture, made, in the days of his flesh, satisfaction for all the sin of them that had or should believe in his name, and obtained that they should be the sons of God, and taken from under the damnation of the law, and put under grace and mercy, and that God should henceforth deal with them as a merciful father dealeth with his children that run not away from him, no though ought be at a time chanced amiss; but tarry ever still by their father and by his doctrine, and confess their tresspass, and promise henceforth to enforce themselves unto the uttermost of their power that they do no more so negligently. And this purchase made he with the things which he suffered in his flesh, and with the strong prayers which he prayed. And to keep his testament ever fresh in mind that it were not forgot, he left with us the sacrament or sign of his body and blood, to strength our faith and to certify our conscience, that our sins were forgiven as soon as we repented and had reconciled ourselves unto our brethren, and to arm our souls through the continual remembrance of Christ's death, unto the despising of the world, mortifying of the flesh, and quenching of the lusts and thirst of worldly things. As they which have daily conversation with the sick and miserable, and are present at the deaths of men, are moved to defy the world, and the lusts thereof.

The mass, as the pope useth it, is damnable idolatry.

We must ever cleave unto God and submit ourselves to his mercy.

And as Christ had institute the sacrament of his body and blood, so the bishops in process of time set signs of all the rest of Christ's passion, in the ornaments and gestures of the mass; so that the whole passion was daily described before our eyes, as though we had presently looked upon it.

The mass at the first was a declaration of Christ's passion.

And that thou mayest see for what cause they came unto the sacrament, they reconciled themselves each one to other, if any man had offended his brother, ere they were admitted into the congregation or body of Christ, to be members of each other, knit together in one faith and

1 Cor. xi. 1 Cor. x. and xii.

love to eat the Lord's supper (as Paul calleth it), for the
Eph. i congregation thus gathered is called Christ's body and Christ their head. And likewise if a man had been taken in open sin against the profession of his baptism, he was rebuked openly. And he confessed his sin openly, and asked forgiveness of God, and of the congregation whom
What penance was. he had offended with the example of his evil deed; and took penance, as they call it, of the congregation; that is, certain discreet injunctions how he should live and order himself in time to come and tame his flesh, for the avoiding of the said vice; because his confession and repentance which he seemed to have, should be none hypocrisy, but an earnest thing. For if an open sinner be found among us, we must immediately amend him, or cast him out of the congregation with defiance and detestation of his sin; as thou seest how quickly Paul cast out the Corinthian that kept his father's wife, and when he was warned
Grievous sin not passed upon. would not amend. Or else if we suffer such to be among us unrebuked, we cannot but at once fall from the constancy of our profession, and laugh and have delectation and consent unto their sin, as it is come to pass throughout all Christendom. Which is ten thousand times more abominable than if we sinned ourselves. For the best man in the world that hateth sin, might at a time through frailty of the flesh be drawn to sin. But it is altogether devilish, and a sure token that the spirit of Christ is not in us, nor the profession of our baptism written in the heart, if we laugh at another man's sins, though we ourselves abstain for shame or fear of hell or for whatsoever imagination it be, or that we be so blind that we see no
Discipline used in the primitive church. other sin in us, than our outward deeds. And the penance enjoined frail persons that could not rule themselves was under the authority of the curate, and the sad and discreet men of the parish, to release part, or all, at a time, if necessity required, or when they saw the person so grown in perfectness that he needed it not. But see whereto it is now come, and after what manner our holy father that is

at Rome dispenseth with all together? and see what our bishops' officers do, and where the authority of the curate and of the parish is become! If in ten parishes round there be not one learned and discreet to help the other, then the devil hath a great swing among us; that the bishops' officers that dwell so far off, must abuse us as they do. And if within a diocese or an whole land, we can find no shift, but that the pope that dwelleth at the devil in hell, must thus mock us, what a stroke, think ye, hath Satan among us? And all is because we be hypocrites and love not the way of truth, for all our pretending the contrary.

The description of the parts of the mass.

And to begin withal, they said *Confiteor*, and knowledged themselves to be sinners. And then the priest prayed in general for all estates and degrees, and for increase of grace, and in especially, if need required; unto which prayers the people hearkened and said Amen. And then the gospel and glad tidings of forgiveness of sins was preached to stir our faith. And then the sacrament was ministered for the confirmation of the faith of the gospel, and of the testament made between God and us, of forgiveness of sins in Christ's blood, for our repentance and faith; as ye see how after all bargains there is a sign thereof made, either clapping of hands, or bowing a penny or a groat, or a piece of gold, or giving some earnest, and as I shewed you how after a truce made, they slew beasts for a confirmation. And then men departed, every man to his business, full certified that their sins were forgiven, and armed with the remembrance of Christ's passion and death, for the mortifying of the flesh all the day after. And in all these was neither the sacrament, neither other ceremonies of the mass, image service to God, and holy deeds to make satisfaction for our sins, or to purchase such worldly things as the gospel teacheth us to despise. And now compare this use of the mass to ours, and see whether the mass be not become the

most damnable idolatry and image service that ever was in the world.

The abominable use of the mass.

We never reconcile ourselves unto our brethren which we have offended; we receive unto our mass open sinners, the covetous, the extortioners, the adulterer, the backbiter, the common whore, and the whore keeper, which have no part in Christ, by the Scripture; yea, such are suffered to say the mass as the use is now to speak; yea, such are we compelled with the sword to take for our pastors and curates of our souls, and not so hardy to rebuke them. Neither do they repent and confess their sins and promise amendment, or submit themselves to wholesome injunctions for the avoiding of such sins, and taming of their flesh. We say *Confiteor*, and knowledge ourselves to be sinners in Latin, but never repent in English. The priest prayeth in Latin, and saith evermore a still mass as we say. For though he sing and strain his throat to cry loud unto them that be by him, yet as long as no man wotteth what he prayeth, or whether he bless or curse, he is dumb and speechless. And so in that part we abide fruitless and untaught how to pray unto God. And the gospel is sung or said in Latin only, and no preaching of repentance toward the law, and faith toward Christ had. And therefore abide we ever faithless and without studying to amend our livings. And of the ceremonies of the mass, we have no other imagination than that they be an holy service unto God, which he receiveth of our hands, and hath great delectation in them, and that we purchase great favour of God with them, as we do of great men here in the world with gifts and presents. Insomuch that if the priest said mass without those vestments, or left the ceremonies undone, we should all quake for fear, and think that there were a sin committed enough to sink us all, and that the priest for his labour were worthy to be put in the pope's purgatory, and there to be burnt to ashes.

And of the very sacrament itself we know no other

thing than that we come thither to see an unseeable miracle, which they affirm the angels in heaven have no power to do: *Sed solis presbyteris, quibus sic congruit, ut sumant nec dent cæteris*: how that bread is turned into the body, and wine into the blood, of Christ, to mock our seeing, smelling, feeling and tasting, which is a very strong faith, and more a great deal (I think) than the text compelleth a man to. Nevertheless it were somewhat yet, if they had been as loving, kind, careful and diligent to teach the people to repent, and to believe in the blood of Christ for the forgiveness of their sins, unto the glory of the mercy of God, and of his exceeding love to us, and unto the profit of our souls: and upon that preaching to have ministered the sacrament as a memorial, remembrance sign, token, earnest, the seal of an obligation, and clapping of hands together for the assurance of the promise of God; to quiet, stablish and certify our consciences, and to put us out of all wavering and doubt that our sins were forgiven us, and God become our father and at one with us, for which cause only Christ ordained it: as they were zealous and fervent to maintain the opinion of so turning bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, that it ceaseth to be bread and wine in nature, unto their own glory and profit, without help of Scripture, but with subtle arguments of sophistry and with crafty wiles. First, with taking away half the sacrament, lest if the people should have drunk the blood of Christ, they should have smelled the savour, and felt the taste of wine, and so have been too weak to believe that there had been no wine. And secondarily, when they durst not rob the people of all the sacrament, they yet took away common bread, and imagined maunchets which may not be handled, and in sight have no similitude of bread, and in eating very little taste, if there be any at all. And thirdly, whom they could not catch with those crafts against him they disputed with the sword. For when they had taken away the signification and very intent of the sacrament, to stablish

The abuse of the sacrament.

Half of the sacrament kept from the lay people.

the ear confession, their merits, deservings, justifying of works, and like invention unto their own glory and profit; what had the sacrament been if they had not made of that opinion an article of the faith? But now when they have destroyed, for the nonce, that faith which profited, and have set up with wiles, subtilty, falsehood, guile and with violence, that faith which profiteth not, we have good cause to judge and examine the doctrine of the spirits, whether it be grounded upon God's word or not.

But I ask, Wherefore we believe that Christ's body and his blood is there present? verily as many heads as many wits, every man hath his meaning. We take pains to come thither to see strange holy gestures, whereof, say they to their shame, who knoweth the meaning? yea or of the other disguising: and to hear strange holy voices, whereof, say I also that no man knoweth the understanding; and to look upon the sacrament; and all to obtain worldly things for that service. Why may not a man desire worldly things of God? Yes, we ought to ask of God only sufficiency of all worldly things, as we do spiritual things, yet not for bodily service, when God is a spirit, but for the goodness and mercy of our father, and for the truth of his promise and deservings of his Son. And so when we do men bodily service, we ought to look for our wages of God; lest if he move not the hearts of our masters, we be shrewdly paid; and likewise when we lend or bargain, we ought to desire God for payment, lest through our negligence he forget us and the appointments be not truly kept. Some there be yet, that ask heaven but for bodily service, which is like abomination.

But who cometh thither with repentance and faith, for to obtain forgiveness of his sins, and with purpose to walk in the life of penance for the taming of the flesh that he sin no more? and to stablish his heart in that purpose, and to arm his soul against all that move to the contrary, and when he goeth home is certified in his conscience, through that sign and token, that his sins are

forgiven him: as Noah was certified by the sign of the rainbow that the world should no more be overrun with water: and as Abraham was certified by the sign of circumcision that God would fulfil to him and his offspring all the mercies that he had promised: and as Abraham, (Gen. xv.) when he asked a sign to be sure that he should possess that land of Canaan, was certified through the sign that God gave him thereof; and of the four hundred years that his posterity should be in thraldom in Egypt; and of their deliverance: and as Gideon was certified by the sign of his fleece of the victory that God had promised him: and as many other that believed in God, were certified by the signs that God gave them, of the promises which God made them? Verily no man. For our prelates which lay for themselves, *Compelle intrare*, compel not us to enter into any such feast, nor will suffer any such meat to be set before us; for fear of overthrowing the foundation of their false building whereof springeth so great glory and profit unto them, which foundation to build their lies upon, they could never have laid, except they had first thrust this doctrine of our soul's health clean out of knowledge. And as soon as they had blinded the light, they became leaders in darkness; and made of the mass image service; so that the strange holy gestures, and the strange holy voices, and strange holy vestures, with all other strange holy ceremonies, must be meritorious works to deserve long life, health, riches, honour, favour, dignity, and abundance of all that we have, forsaking our baptism, and to arm us from bearing of the cross with Christ. And they have made of it a pill of two contrary operations; so that the same medicine that preserveth our souls from purgatory doth purge the body of house, lands, rents, goods and money, that it is made as bare as Job, and as bald as a coot. And the light that rebuketh them, they call seditious, that it maketh the subjects to rise against their princes. Which thing the hypocrites laid some time unto the prophets, as ye may see in

The fruitful and profitable doctrine of the sacraments are kept from us.

the Old Testament. And at last they laid it unto Christ's charge, as ye may see in the gospel, and to the charge of the apostles, as ye may see in the Acts. But at all such times, the hypocrites themselves stirred up such a sword to maintain their falsehood, that evermore a great part of the world perished through their own mischievous incensing and provoking princes to battle.

These hypocrites laid to Wickliff's charge, (and do yet) that his doctrine caused insurrection: but they, to quench the truth of his preaching, slew the right king, and set up three false kings a row: by which mischievous sedition, they caused half England to be slain up, and brought the realm into such reign and desolation, that M. More could say in his Utopia, that as Englishmen were wont to eat sheep, even so their sheep now eat up them by whole parishes at once, besides other inconveniences that he then saw. And so the hypocrites say now likewise, that God's word causeth insurrection; but ye shall see shortly that these hypocrites themselves after their old wont and ensamples in quenching the truth that uttereth their juggling, shall cause all realms Christian to rise one against another, and some against themselves. Ye shall see then run out before the year come about, that which they have been in brewing (as I have marked) above this dozen years, &c.

¶ *This much have I said because of them that deceive you, to give you an occasion to judge the spirits.*

A

PATHWAY

INTO

THE HOLY SCRIPTURE.

A PATHWAY

INTO

THE HOLY SCRIPTURE.

I DO marvel greatly, dearly beloved in Christ, that ever any man should repugn or speak against the Scripture to be had in every language, and that of every man. For I thought that no man had been so blind to ask why light should be shewed to them that walk in darkness, where they cannot but stumble, and where to stumble, is the danger of eternal damnation; other so despiteful that he would envy any man (I speak not his brother) so necessary a thing; or so Bedlam mad to affirm that good is the natural cause of evil, and darkness to proceed out of light, that lying should be grounded in truth and verity, and not rather clean contrary, that light destroyeth darkness, and verity reproveth all manner [of] lying.

Scriptures should be translated into every language.

Nevertheless, seeing that it hath pleased God to send unto our Englishmen, even to as many as unfeignedly desire it, the Scripture in their mother tongue, considering that there be in every place false teachers and blind leaders, that ye should be deceived of no man, I supposed it very necessary to prepare this Pathway into the Scripture for you, that ye might walk surely and ever know the true from the false. And above all to put you in remembrance of certain points, which are, that ye well understand what these words mean: The Old Testament.

The cause of the edition of this Pathway.

The New Testament. The law. The gospel. Moses, Christ, Nature, Grace. Working and believing. Deeds and faith. Lest we ascribe to the one that which belongeth to the other, and make of Christ Moses, of the gospel the law, despise grace and rob faith: and fall from meek learning into idle disputations, brawling and scolding about words.

What are contained in the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is a book, wherein is written the law of God, and the deeds of them which fulfil them, and of them also which fulfil them not.

The contents of the New Testament.

The New Testament is a book, wherein are contained the promises of God, and the deeds of them which believe them or believe them not.

The etymology of this word Evangelion.

Evangelion (that we call the gospel) is a Greek word, and signifieth good, merry, glad and joyful tidings, that maketh a man's heart glad, and maketh him sing, dance and leap for joy. As when David had killed Goliah the giant, came glad tidings unto the Jews, that their fearful and cruel enemy was slain, and they delivered out of all danger: for gladness whereof, they sung, danced, and were joyful. In like manner is the Evangelion of God (which we call gospel, and the New Testament) joyful tidings; and, as some say, a good hearing published by the apostles throughout all the world, of Christ the right David, how that he hath fought with sin, with death, and the devil, and overcome them. Whereby all men that were in bondage to sin, wounded with death, overcome of the devil, are, without their own merits or deservings, loosed, justified, restored to life and saved, brought to liberty and reconciled unto the favour of God, and set at one with him again: which tidings, as many as believe laud, praise, and thank God; are glad, sing and dance for joy.

Evangelion is called the New Testament.

This Evangelion or gospel (that is to say, such joyful tidings) is called the New Testament. Because that as a man, when he shall die, appointeth his goods to be dealt and distributed after his death among them which he nameth to be his heirs; even so Christ before his death

commanded and appointed that such Evangelion, gospel, or tidings should be declared throughout all the world, and therewith to give unto all that repent and believe, all his goods: that is to say, his life wherewith he swallowed and devoured up death; his righteousness, wherewith he banished sin; his salvation, wherewith he overcame eternal damnation. Now, can the wretched man (that knoweth himself to be wrapped in sin, and in danger to death and hell) hear no more joyous a thing, than such glad and comfortable tidings of Christ. So that he cannot but be glad and laugh from the low bottom of his heart, if he believe that the tidings are true.

No greater comfort can happen to a sinner being penitent, than the promises of the gospel.

To strength such faith withal, God promised this his Evangelion in the Old Testament by the prophets, as Paul saith, (Rom. i.) How that he was chosen out to preach God's Evangelion, which he before had promised by the prophets in the Scriptures, that treat of his Son which was born of the seed of David. In Gen. iii. 15, God saith to the serpent, I will put hatred between thee and the woman, between thy seed and her seed, that self seed shall tread thy head under foot. Christ is this woman's seed, he it is that hath trodden under foot the devil's head, that is to say, sin, death, hell, and all his power. For without this seed can no man avoid sin, death, hell, and everlasting damnation.

The gospel was promised of God in the Old Testament by the prophets.

Christ hath overthrown the devil and all his power.

Again, (Gen. xxii.) God promised Abraham saying, In thy seed shall all the generations of the earth be blessed. Christ is that seed of Abraham, saith St. Paul, (Gal. iii.) He hath blessed all the world through the gospel. For where Christ is not, there remaineth the curse that fell on Adam as soon as he had sinned, so that they are in bondage under damnation of sin, death, and hell. Against this curse blesseth now the gospel all the world, inasmuch as it crieth openly, unto all that knowledge their sins and repent, saying, Whosoever believeth on the seed of Abraham shall be blessed, that is, he shall be delivered from sin, death, and hell, and shall henceforth continue righ-

teous, and saved for ever, as Christ himself saith (in the eleventh of John,) He that believeth on me shall never more die.

The law was given by Moses, grace and truth by Jesus Christ.

The law, (saith John i.) was given by Moses: but grace and verity by Jesus Christ. The law (whose minister is Moses) was given to bring us unto the knowledge of ourselves, that we might thereby feel and perceive what we are of nature. The law condemneth us and all our deeds, and is called of Paul, (in 2 Cor. iii.) the ministration of death. For it killeth our consciences and driveth us to desperation, inasmuch as it requireth of us that which is unpossible for our nature to do. It requireth of us the deeds of an whole man. It requireth perfect love from the low bottom and ground of the heart, as well in all things which we suffer, as in the things which we do. But, saith John in the same place, grace and verity is given us in Christ. So that when the law hath passed upon us, and condemned us to death (which is his nature to do) then we have, in Christ's grace, that is to say, favour, promises of life, of mercy, of pardon, freely by the merits of Christ; and in Christ have we verity and truth, in that God for his sake fulfilleth all his promises to them that believe. Therefore is the gospel the ministration of life. Paul calleth it in the fore rehearsed place of the Cor. ii. the ministration of the Spirit and of righteousness. In the gospel when we believe the promises, we receive the spirit of life, and are justified in the blood of Christ from all things whereof the law condemned us. And we receive love unto the law, and power to fulfil it, and grow therein daily. Of Christ it is written in the fore rehearsed John i. This is he of whose abundance or fulness, all we have received, grace for grace, or favour for favour. That is to say, for the favour that God hath to his Son Christ, he giveth unto us his favour and good will, and all gifts of his grace as a father to his sons. As affirmeth Paul, saying, Which loved us in his Beloved before the creation of the world. So that Christ bringeth

The law requireth of us that which is impossible for our nature to do.

When the law hath condemned us, Christ granteth us free pardon.

the love of God unto us, and not our own holy works. Christ is made Lord over all, and is called in Scripture God's mercy stool: whosoever therefore flieth to Christ, can neither hear nor receive of God any other thing save mercy.

Christ is God's mercy stool, so that no mercy cometh from God, but through Christ.

In the Old Testament are many promises, which are nothing else but the Evangelion or gospel, to save those that believed them from the vengeance of the law. And in the New Testament is oft made mention of the law to condemn them which believe not the promises. Moreover the law and the gospel may never be separate: for the gospel and promises serve but for troubled consciences, which are brought to desperation, and feel the pains of hell and death under the law, and are in captivity and bondage under the law. In all my deeds I must have the law before me to condemn mine unperfectness. For all that I do (be I never so perfect) is yet damnable sin, when it is compared to the law, which requireth the ground and bottom of mine heart. I must therefore have always the law in my sight, that I may be meek in the spirit, and give God all the laud and praise, ascribing to him all righteousness, and to myself all unrighteousness and sin. I must also have the promises before mine eyes, that I despair not, in which promises I see the mercy, favour, and good will of God upon me in the blood of his Son Christ, which hath made satisfaction for mine unperfectness, and fulfilled for me, that which I could not do.

The law must ever be in sight to make us humble spirited: and the gospel also before our eyes to comfort us.

Here may ye perceive that two manner of people are sore deceived. First, they which justify themselves with outward deeds, in that they abstain outwardly from that which the law forbiddeth, and do outwardly that which the law commandeth. They compare themselves to open sinners and in respect of them justify themselves, condemning the open sinners. They set a vail on Moses' face, and see not how the law requireth love from the bottom of the heart and that love only is the fulfilling of the law. If they did they would not condemn their neigh-

Two manner of people deceived: those which justify themselves by works; and their those that through their blind opinion of faith utterly pervert the lively faith.

bours. Love hideth the multitude of sins, saith St. Peter in his first Epistle. For whom I love from the deep bottom and ground of mine heart him condemn I not, neither reckon his sins, but suffer his weakness and infirmity, as a mother the weakness of her son, until he grow up into a perfect man.

Those also are deceived which, without all fear of God, give themselves unto all manner [of] vices with full consent, and full delectation, having no respect to the law of God (under whose vengeance they are locked up in captivity); but say, God is merciful and Christ died for us, supposing that such dreaming and imagination is that faith which is so greatly commended in holy Scripture. Nay that it is not faith, but rather a foolish blind opinion springing of their own corrupt nature, and is not given them of the Spirit of God, but rather of the spirit of the devil, whose faith, now-a-days, the popish compare and make equal unto the best trust, confidence and belief that a repenting soul can have in the blood of our Saviour Jesus, unto their own confusion, shame, and uttering what they are within. But true faith is (as saith the apostle Paul) the gift of God, and is given to sinners after the law hath passed upon them and hath brought their consciences unto the brim of desperation, and sorrows of hell.

He that hath a right faith delighteth in the law although his weakness cannot fulfil the same.

They that have this right faith, consent to the law that it is righteous, and good, and justify God which made the law, and have delectation in the law (notwithstanding that they cannot fulfil it as they would, for their weakness) and they abhor whatsoever the law forbiddeth, though they cannot always avoid it. And their great sorrow is, because they cannot fulfil the will of God in the law; and the spirit that is in them crieth to God night and day for strength, and help, with tears as (saith Paul) that cannot be expressed with tongue. Of which things the belief of our popish or of their father, whom they so magnify for his strong faith, hath none experience at all.

The first, that is to say, he which justifieth himself with

his outward deeds, consenteth not to the law inward, neither hath delectation therein, yea, he would rather that no such law were. So justifieth he not God, but hateth him as a tyrant, neither careth he for the promises, but will with his own strength be saviour of himself: no wise glorifieth he God, though he seem outward to do.

He that justifieth himself rejecteth the law and promises.

The second, that is to say, the sensual person, as a voluptuous swine, neither feareth God in his law, neither is thankful to him for his promises and mercy, which is set forth in Christ to all them that believe.

The voluptuous person.

The right Christian man consenteth to the law that it is righteous, and justifieth God in the law; for he affirmeth that God is righteous and just, which is author of the law, he believeth the promises of God, and justifieth God, judging him true and believing that he will fulfil his promises. With the law he condemneth himself and all his deeds, and giveth all the praise to God. He believeth the promises, and ascribeth all truth to God: thus everywhere justifieth he God, and praiseth God.

A true Christian.

By nature through the fall of Adam are we the children of wrath, heirs of the vengeance of God by birth, yea, and from our conception. And we have our fellowship with the damned devils under the power of darkness and rule of Satan, while we are yet in our mothers' wombs, and though we shew not forth the fruits of sin as soon as we are born, yet are we full of the natural poison whereof all sinful deeds spring, and cannot but sin outwards, (be we never so young) as soon as we be able to work if occasion be given, for our nature is to do sin, as is the nature of a serpent to sting. And as a serpent yet young, or yet unbrought forth is full of poison, and cannot afterward (when the time is come, and occasion given) but bring forth the fruits thereof; and as an adder, a toad, or a snake, is hated of man (not for the evil that it hath done, but for the poison that is in it and hurt which it cannot but do); so are we hated of God for that natural poison which is conceived and born with us before we do any

A proper similitude.

outward evil. And as the evil, which a venemous worm doth, maketh it not a serpent; but because it is a venemous worm, doth it evil and poisoneth: and as the fruit maketh not the tree evil; but because it is an evil tree, therefore bringeth it forth evil fruit, when the season of fruit is: even so do not our evil deeds make us first evil through ignorance and blindness, though evil working hardeneth us in evil, and maketh us worse and worse: but because that of nature we are evil, therefore we both think and do evil, and are under vengeance under the law, convict to eternal damnation by the law, and are contrary to the will of God in all our will, and in all things consent to the will of the fiend.

We are plucked from Adam, and graffed in Christ by grace.

By grace (that is to say by favour) we are plucked out of Adam, the ground of all evil, and graffed in Christ the root of all goodness. In Christ God loved us, his elect and chosen, before the world began, and reserved us unto the knowledge of his Son and of his holy gospel; and when the gospel is preached to us openeth our hearts, and giveth us grace to believe and putteth the Spirit of Christ in us, and we know him as our father most merciful, and consent to the law, and love it inwardly in our heart, and desire to fulfil it, and sorrow because we cannot: which will (sin we of frailty never so much) is sufficient till more strength be given us, the blood of Christ hath made satisfaction for the rest: the blood of Christ hath obtained all things for us of God. Christ is our satisfaction, Redeemer, Deliverer, Saviour from vengeance and wrath. Observe and mark in Paul's, Peter's and John's Epistles, and in the gospel, what Christ is unto us.

The blood of Christ hath obtained all things for us of God.

By faith are we saved only in believing the promises. And though faith be never without love and good works, yet is our saving imputed neither to love nor unto good works, but unto faith only. For love and works are under the law, which requireth perfection, and the ground and fountain of the heart, and damneth all imperfectness. Now is faith under the promises, which damn not; but

give pardon, grace, mercy, favour, and whatsoever is contained in the promises.

Sundry sorts of righteousness.

Righteousness is divers: for blind reason imagineth many manner of righteousnesses. There is the righteousness of works (as I said before) when the heart is away and is not felt, how the law is spiritual and cannot be fulfilled, but from the bottom of the heart. As the just ministration of all manner of laws, and the observing of them, for a worldly purpose and for our own profit, and not of love unto our neighbour, without all other respect, and moral virtues wherein philosophers put their fecility and blessedness, which all are nothing in the sight of God in respect of the life to come. There is in like manner the justifying of ceremonies which some imagine their ownselves, some counterfeit other, saying, in their blind reason, such holy persons did thus and thus, and they were holy men, therefore if I do so likewise I shall please God: but they have none answer of God, that that pleaseth. The Jews seek righteousness in their ceremonies which God gave unto them not for to justify; but to describe and paint Christ unto them, of which Jews testifieth Paul saying, how that they have affection to God; but not after knowledge, for they go about to stablish their own justice, and are not obedient to the justice or righteousness that cometh of God, which is the forgiveness of sin in Christ's blood unto all that repent and believe. The cause is verily, that except a man cast away his own imagination and reason, he cannot perceive God, and understand the virtue and power of the blood of Christ. There is a full righteousness, when the law is fulfilled from the ground of the heart. This had neither Peter nor Paul in this life perfectly, unto the uttermost, that they could not be perfecter, but sighed after it. They were so far forth blessed in Christ, that they hungred and thirsted after it. Paul had this thirst, he consented to the law of God, that it ought so to be, but he found another lust in his members contrary to the lust and desire of his mind that letted

Man's sensual reason cannot perceive the virtue of Christ's blood.

him, and therefore cried out saying, Oh, wretched man that I am; who shall deliver me from this body of death? thanks be to God through Jesus Christ. The righteousness that before God is of value, is to believe the promises of God, after the law hath confounded the conscience. As when the temporal law oftimes condemneth the thief or murderer, and bringeth him to execution, so that he seeth nothing before him but present death, and then cometh good tidings, a charter from the king and delivereth him: Likewise when God's law hath brought the sinner into knowledge of himself, and hath confounded his conscience and opened unto him the wrath and vengeance of God; then cometh good tidings: the Evangelion sheweth unto him the promises of God in Christ, and how that Christ hath purchased pardon for him, hath satisfied the law for him, and appeased the wrath of God. And the poor sinner believeth, laudeth and thanketh God through Christ, and breaketh out into exceeding inward joy and gladness, for that he hath escaped so great wrath, so heavy vengeance, so fearful and so everlasting a death. And he henceforth is an hungred and athrist after more righteousness, that he might fulfil the law; and mourneth continually commending his weakness unto God in the blood of our Saviour, Christ Jesus.

Here shall ye see compendiously and plainly set out, the order and practice of every thing afore rehearsed.

Adam's fall brought us in bondage to the devil.

The fall of Adam hath made us heirs of the vengeance and wrath of God, and heirs of eternal damnation. And hath brought us into captivity and bondage under the devil. And the devil is our lord, and our ruler, our head, our governor, our prince, yea, and our God. And our will is locked and knit faster unto the will of the devil, than could an hundred thousand chains bind a man unto a post. Unto the devil's will consent we with all our hearts, with all our minds, with all our might, power, strength, will and lusts; so that the law and will of the devil is

written as well in our hearts as in our members, and we run headlong after the devil with full zeal, and the whole swing of all the power we have; as a stone cast up into the air cometh down naturally of his ownself, with all the violence and swing of his own weight. With what poison deadly and venomous hate, hateth a man his enemy! With how great malice of mind inwardly do we slay and murder! With what violence and rage, yea, and with how fervent lust commit we advoutry, fornication, and such like uncleanness! With what pleasure and delectation inwardly serveth a glutton his belly! With what diligence deceive we! How busily seek we the things of this world! Whatsoever we do, think, or imagine, is abominable in the sight of God. For we can refer nothing unto the honour of God; neither is his law or will written in our members or in our hearts: neither is there any more power in us to follow the will of God, than in a stone to ascend upward of his ownself. And beside that we are as it were asleep in so deep blindness, that we can neither see nor feel in what misery, thraldom, and wretchedness we are in, till Moses come and wake us, and publish the law. When we hear the law truly preached, how that we ought to love and honour God with all our strength and might, from the low bottom of the heart; because he hath created us, and both heaven and earth for our sakes, and made us lord thereof; and our neighbours (yea our enemies) as ourselves inwardly from the ground of the heart, because God hath made them after the likeness of his own image, and they are his sons as well as we, and Christ hath bought them with his blood, and made them heirs of everlasting life as well as us. And how we ought to do whatsoever God biddeth, and abstain from whatsoever God forbiddeth, with all love and meekness, with a fervent and a burning lust from the centre of the heart, then beginneth the conscience to rage against the law, and against God. No sea, be it ever so great a tempest, is so unquiet. For it is not possible for a natural

The natural corruption of the minds of Adam's heirs plainly set forth.

man to consent to the law, that it should be good, or that God should be righteous which maketh the law; inasmuch as it is contrary unto his nature, and damneth him and all that he can do, and neither sheweth him where to fetch help, nor preacheth any mercy; but only setteth man at variance with God, (as witnesseth Paul Rom. iv.) and provoketh him and stirreth him to rail on God, and to blaspheme him as a cruel tyrant. For it is not possible for a man, till he be born again, to think that God is righteous to make him of so poison a nature, either for his own pleasure or for the sin of another man, and to give him a law that is impossible for him to do or to consent to; his wit, reason, and will being so fast glued, yea, nailed and chained unto the will of the devil. Neither can any creature loose the bonds, save the blood of Christ only.

Man before his regeneration cannot think well of God.

This is captivity and bondage whence Christ delivered us, redeemed and loosed us. His blood, his death, his patience in suffering rebukes and wrongs, his prayers and fastings, his meekness and fulfilling of the uttermost point of the law, appeased the wrath of God, brought the favour of God to us again, obtained that God should love us first, and be our Father, and that a merciful Father that will consider our infirmities and weakness, and will give us his spirit again (which was taken away in the fall of Adam) to rule, govern, and strength us, and to break the bonds of Satan, wherein we were so strait bound. When Christ is thuswise preached, and the promises rehearsed which are contained in the Prophets, in the Psalms, and in divers places of the five books of Moses, which preaching is called the gospel or glad tidings; then the hearts of them which are elect and chosen, begin to wax soft and melt at the bounteous mercy of God, and kindness shewed of Christ. For when the Evangelion is preached, the Spirit of God entereth into them, which God hath ordained and appointed unto eternal life, and openeth their inward eyes, and worketh such belief in them. When the woful consciences feel and taste how sweet a thing the bitter death

The hearts of the elect do even melt at the preaching of God's mercy, and Christ's kindness.

of Christ is, and how merciful and loving God is through Christ's purchasing and merits, they begin to love again, and to consent to the law of God, how that it is good and ought so to be, and that God is righteous which made it; and desire to fulfil the law even as a sick man desireth to be whole, and are an hungred and thirst after more righteousness and after more strength to fulfil the law more perfectly. And in all that they do, or omit and leave undone, they seek God's honour, and his will with meekness, ever condemning the unperfectness of their deeds by the law.

Now Christ standeth us in double stead, and us serveth in two manner wise. First, he is our Redeemer, Deliverer, Reconciler, Mediator, Intercessor, Advocate, Attorney, Solicitor, our Hope, Comfort, Shield, Protection, Defender, Strength, Health, Satisfaction and Salvation. His blood, his death, all that he ever did, is ours. And Christ himself, with all that he is or can do, is ours. His blood-shedding and all that he did, doth me as good service as though I myself had done it. And God (as great as he is) is mine with all that he hath, as an husband is his wife's, through Christ and his purchasing.

Christ left nothing undone that might be to our salvation.

Secondarily, after that we be overcome with love and kindness, and now seek to do the will of God (which is a Christan man's nature) then have we Christ an ensample to counterfeit, as saith Christ himself in John, I have given you an ensample. And in another evangelist he saith, He that will be great among you, shall be your servant and minister, as the Son of man came to minister and not to be ministered unto. And Paul saith, Counterfeit Christ. And Peter saith, Christ died for you, and left you an ensample to follow his steps. Whatsoever therefore faith hath received of God through Christ's blood and deserving, that same must love shed out every whit, and bestow it on our neighbours unto their profit, yea, and that though they be our enemies. What faith receiveth of God, through Christ's blood that we must bestow on our neighbours, though they be our enemies. By faith we receive of God, and

Christ an example to us of all goodness.

What faith receiveth of God through Christ's blood, that we must bestow on our neighbours, though they be our enemies.

by love we shed out again. And that must we do freely after the ensample of Christ without any other respect, save our neighbour's wealth only, and neither look for reward in earth, nor yet in heaven, for the deserving and merits of our deeds, as friars preach; though we know that good deeds are rewarded both in this life and in the life to come; but of pure love must we bestow ourselves all that we have, and all that we are able to do, even on our enemies to bring them to God, considering nothing but their wealth, as Christ did ours. Christ did not his deeds to obtain heaven thereby, (that had been a madness) heaven was his already, he was heir thereof, it was his by inheritance; but did them freely for our sakes, considering nothing but our wealth and to bring the favour of God to us again, and us to God. As no natural son that is his father's heir, doth his father's will because he would be heir; that he is already by birth, his father gave him that ere he was born, and is lother that he should go without it, than he himself hath wit to be; but of pure love doth he that he doth. And ask him why he doth any thing that he doth? he answereth, My father bade, it is my father's will, it pleaseth my father. Bond servants work for hire, children for love. For their father with all he hath is theirs already. So doth a Christian man freely all that he doth, considereth nothing but the will of God, and his neighbour's wealth only. If I live chaste, I do it not to obtain heaven thereby. For then should I do wrong to the blood of Christ; Christ's blood hath obtained me that, Christ's merits have made me heir thereof. He is both door and way thitherwards. Neither that I look for an higher room in heaven, than they shall have which live in wedlock, other than a whore of the stews (if she repent) for that were the pride of Lucifer. But freely to wait on the Evangelion; and to avoid the trouble of the world, and occasions that might pluck me therefrom, and to serve my brother withal, even as one hand helpeth another, or one member another, because one feeleth another's grief,

Christ did not good deeds to merit heaven, for that was his already, but freely for our sakes.

and the pain of the one is the pain of the other. Whatsoever is done to the least of us (whether it be good or bad) it is done to Christ, and whatsoever is done to my brother (if I be a Christian man) that same is done to me. Neither doth my brother's pain grieve me less than mine own. Neither rejoice I less at his wealth than at mine own, if I love him as well and as much as myself, as the law commandeth me. If it were not so, how saith Paul? Let him that rejoiceth, rejoice in the Lord, that is to say, Christ, which is Lord over all creatures. If my merits obtained me heaven, or a higher place there, then had I wherein I might rejoice besides the Lord.

The law bindeth, and the gospel looseth all men.

Here see ye the nature of the law, and the nature of the Evangelion. How the law is the key that bindeth and damneth all men, and the Evangelion is the key that looseth them again. The law goeth before, and the Evangelion followeth. When a preacher preacheth the law, he bindeth all consciences; and when he preacheth the gospel, he looseth them again. These two salves (I mean the law and the gospel) useth God and his preacher to heal and cure sinners withal. The law driveth out the disease and maketh it appear, and is a sharp salve, and a fretting corosy, and killeth the dead flesh, and looseth and draweth the sores out by the roots, and all corruption. It pulleth from a man the trust and confidence that he hath in himself, and in his own works, merits, deservings and ceremonies, and robbeth him of all his righteousness and maketh him poor. It killeth him, sendeth him down to hell, and bringeth him to utter desperation, and prepareth the way of the Lord, as it is written of John the Baptist. For it is not possible that Christ should come to a man, as long as he trusteth in himself, or in any worldly thing, or hath any righteousness of his own, or riches of holy works. Then cometh the Evangelion, a more gentle pastor, which suppleth and suageth the wounds of the conscience, and bringeth health. It bringeth the Spirit of God, which looseth the bonds of Satan, and

The force of the law.

coupleth us to God and his will through strong faith and fervent love, with bonds too strong for the devil, the world, or any creature to loose them. And the poor and wretched sinner feeleth so great mercy, love and kindness in God, that he is sure in himself how that it is not possible that God should forsake him, or withdraw his mercy and love from him. And boldly crieth out with Paul, saying, Who shall separate us from the love that God loveth us withal? That is to say, What shall make me believe that God loveth me not? Shall tribulation? anguish? persecution? Shall hunger? nakedness? Shall sword? Nay, I am sure that neither death, nor life, neither angel, neither rule nor power, neither present things nor things to come, neither high nor low, neither any creature is able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesu our Lord. In all such tribulations a Christian man perceiveth that God is his Father, and loveth him even as he loved Christ when he shed his blood on the cross. Finally as before, when I was bond to the devil and his will, I wrought all manner [of] evil and wickedness, not for hell's sake, which is the reward of sin, but because I was heir of hell by birth and bondage to the devil, did I evil. For I could none otherwise do; to do sin was my nature. Even so now, since I am coupled to God by Christ's blood, do I well, not for heaven's sake, which is yet the reward of well doing; but because I am heir of heaven by grace and Christ's purchasing, and have the Spirit of God, I do good freely, for so is my nature. As a good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. By the fruits shall ye know what the tree is. A man's deeds declare what he is within, but make him neither good nor bad, though after we be created anew by the Spirit and doctrine of Christ, we wax perfecter alway with working according to the doctrine, and not with blind works of our own imagining. We must be first evil ere we do evil, as a serpent is first poisoned ere he poison. We must be also good ere we do

The uprising sinner feeleth such joy in the gospel that he thinketh it impossible that God should forsake him.

good, as the fire must be first hot, ere it heat another thing. Take an ensample: As those blind and deaf which are cured in the gospel, could not see nor hear till Christ had given them sight and hearing, and those sick could not do the deeds of an whole man till Christ had given them health; so can no man do good in his soul till Christ have loosed him out of the bonds of Satan, and have given him wherewith to do good, yea and first have poured into him that self good thing which he shewed forth afterward on other. Whatsoever is our own is sin. Whatsoever is above that, is Christ's gift, purchase, doing and working. He bought it of his Father dearly with his blood, yea, with his most bitter death, and gave his life for it. Whatsoever good thing is in us, that is given us freely, without our deserving or merits for Christ's blood's sake. That we desire to follow the will of God, it is the gift of Christ's blood. That we now hate the devil's will (whereunto we were so fast locked, and could not but love it) is also the gift of Christ's blood, unto whom belongeth the praise and honour of our good deeds, and not unto us.

All sin in us is of ourselves, and all goodness of Christ.

Our deeds do us three manner [of] service. First, they certify us that we are heirs of everlasting life. And that the Spirit of God, which is the earnest thereof, is in us, in that our hearts consent unto the law of God, and we have power in our members to do it, though imperfectly. And secondarily, we tame the flesh therewith, and kill the sin that remaineth yet in us, and wax daily perfecter and perfecter in the Spirit therewith, and keep that the lusts choke not the word of God that is sown in us, nor quench the gifts and working of the Spirit, and that we lose not the Spirit again. And thirdly, we do our duty unto our neighbour therewith, and help their necessity unto our own comfort also, and draw all men unto the honouring and praising of God.

Works certify us of everlasting inheritance, kill sin in us, and relieve the necessity of our neighbour.

And whosoever excelleth in the gifts of grace, let the same think that they be given him, as much to do his brother service as for his own self, and as much for the

Gifts of grace belong to our brother as much as to ourselves

love which God has to the weak as unto him unto whom God giveth such gifts. And he that withdraweth ought that he hath from his neighbour's need, robbeth his neighbour and is a thief. And he that is proud of the gifts of God and thinketh himself, by the reason of them better than his feeble neighbour, and not rather as the truth is, knowledgeth himself a servant unto his poor neighbour, by the reason of them, the same hath Lucifer's spirit in him and not Christ's.

These things to know: first, the law: how that it is natural, right, and equity, that we have but one God to put our hope and trust in, and him to love with all the heart, all the soul, and all our might and power, and neither to move heart nor hand but at his commandment, because he hath first created us of nought, and heaven and earth for our sakes. And afterwards when we had marred ourself through sin, he forgave us and created us again in the blood of his beloved Son.

And that we have the name of our one God in fear and reverence, and that we dishonour it not in swearing thereby about light trifles or vanity, or call it to record for the confirming of wickedness or falsehood, or ought that is to the dishonour of God, which is the breaking of his laws, or unto the hurt of our neighbour.

Holy days necessary to come together in, and learn Christ's will.

And inasmuch as he is our Lord and God, and we his double possession, by creation and redemption, and therefore ought, as I said, neither to move heart or hand without his commandment, it is right that we have needful holy days to come together and learn his will, both the law, which he will have us ruled by, and also the promises of mercy which he will have us trust unto; and to give God thanks together for his mercy, and to commit our infirmities to him through our Saviour Jesus, and to reconcile ourselves unto him, and each to other, if ought be between brother and brother that requireth it. And for this purpose and such like, as to visit the sick and needy, and redress peace and unity, were the holy days

ordained only, and so far forth are they to be kept holy from all manner [of] works that may be conveniently spared for the time till this be done, and no further, but then lawfully to work.

And that it is right that we obey father and mother, master, lord, prince and king, and all the ordinances of the world, bodily and ghostly, by which God ruleth us, and ministereth freely his benefits unto us all. And that we love them for the benefits that we receive by them, and fear them for the power they have over us to punish us, if we trespass the law and good order. So far yet are the worldly powers or rulers to be obeyed only, as their commandments repugn not against the commandment of God, and then ho. Wherefore we must have God's commandment ever in our hearts, and by the higher law intepret the inferior: that we obey nothing against the belief of one God, or against the faith, hope and trust that is in him only, or against the love of God, whereby we do or leave undone all things for his sake, and that we do nothing for any man's commandment against the reverence of the name of God, to make it despised and the less feared and set by: and that we obey nothing to the hinderance of the knowledge of the blessed doctrine of God whose servant the holy day is.

Worldly rulers to be obeyed so far forth as their laws impugn not God's laws.

Notwithstanding though the rulers which God hath set over us command us against God, or do us open wrong, and oppress us with cruel tyranny, yet because they are in God's room, we may not avenge ourselves, but by the process and order of God's law, and laws of man made by the authority of God's law, which is also God's law, ever by an higher power, and remitting the vengeance unto God, and in the mean season suffer until the hour be come.

Though rulers appointed of God oppress us, yet we may not avenge, they being in God's room.

And on the other side, to know that a man ought to love his neighbour equally and fully as well as himself, because his neighbour (be he never so simple) is equally created of God, and as full redeemed by the blood of

We must love our neighbour as ourself.

our Saviour Jesus Christ. Out of which commandment of love spring these: Kill not thy neighbour: defile not his wife: bear no false witness against him; and finally, not only do not these things in deed, but covet not in thine heart, his house, his wife, his man servant, maid servant, ox, ass, or whatsoever is his. So that these laws pertaining unto our neighbour are not fulfilled in the sight of God save with love. He that loveth not his neighbour keepeth not this commandment, Defile not thy neighbour's wife, though he never touch her, or never see her, or think upon her. For the commandment is, though thy neighbour's wife be never so fair, and thou have never so great opportunity given thee, and she content, or haply provoke thee as Potiphar's wife did Joseph, yet see thou love thy neighbour so well, that for very love thou cannot find in thine heart to do that wickedness. And even so he that trusteth in any thing save in God only and in his Son Jesus Christ, keepeth no commandment at all in the sight of God.

For he that hath trust in any creature whether in heaven or in earth, save in God and his Son Jesus, can see no cause to love God with all his heart, &c. neither to abstain from dishonouring his name, nor to keep the holy day for the love of his doctrine, nor to obey lovingly the rulers of this world; nor any cause to love his neighbour as himself, and to abstain from hurting him, where he may get profit by him, and save himself harmless. And in likewise against this law, love thy neighbour as thyself. I may obey no worldly power, to do ought at any man's commandment unto the hurt of my neighbour that hath not deserved it, though he be a Turk.

And to know how contrary this law is unto our nature, and how it is damnation not to have this law written in our hearts, though we never commit the deeds; and how there is no other means to be saved from this damnation, than through repentance toward the law, and faith in Christ's blood, which are the very inward baptism of our souls,

and the washing and the dipping of our bodies in the water is the outward sign. The plunging of the body under the water, signifieth that we repent and profess to fight against sin and lusts, and to kill them every day more and more, with the help of God, and our diligence in following the doctrine of Christ, and the leading of his Spirit, and that we believe to be washed from our natural damnation in which we are born, and from all the wrath of the law, and from all the infirmities and weaknesses that remain in us, after we have given our consent unto the law, and yielded ourself to be scholars thereof, and from all the imperfectness of all our deeds done with cold love, and from all actual sin which shall chance on us while we enforce the contrary and ever fight there against, and hope to sin no more. And thus, repentance and faith begin at our baptism, and first professing the laws of God, and continue unto our lives end, and grow as we grow in the Spirit. For the perfecter we be, the greater is our repentance, and the stronger our faith. And thus, as the Spirit and doctrine on God's part, and repentance and faith in our part beget us anew in Christ: even so they make us grow, and wax perfect and save us unto the end, and never leave us until all sin be put off, and we clean purified and full formed and fashioned after the similitude and likeness of the perfectness of our Saviour Jesus, whose gift all is.

Our baptism signifieth that we repent and profess a new life.

The perfecter we are, the greater is our repentance and the stronger is our faith.

And finally, to know that whatsoever good thing is in us, that same is the gift of grace, and therefore not of deserving, though many things be given of God, through our diligence in working his laws, and chastising our bodies, and in praying for them, and believing his promises, which else should not be given us; yet our working deserveth not the gifts, no more than the diligence of a merchant in seeking a good ship, bringeth the goods safe to land, though such diligence doth now and then help thereto. But when we believe in God, and then do all that is in our might and not tempt him, then is God true to abide by his promise, and to help us and perform alone when our strength is past.

Our works deserve not the gifts of grace.

These things I say to know, is to have all the Scripture unlocked and opened before thee, so that if thou wilt go in and read, thou canst not but understand. And in these things to be ignorant, is to have all the Scripture locked up, so that the more thou readest it, the blinder thou art, and the more contraiety thou findest in it, and the more tangled art thou therein, and canst nowhere through. For if thou had a gloss in one place, in another it will not serve. And therefore because we be never taught the profession of our baptism, we remain always unlearned, as well the spiritualty for all their great clergy and high schools, as we say, as the lay people. And now because the lay and unlearned people are taught these first principles of our profession, therefore they read the Scripture and understand and delight therein. And our great pillars of holy church, which have nailed a veil of false glosses on Moses's face, to corrupt the true understanding of his law, cannot come in. And therefore bark, and say the Scripture maketh heretics, and it is not possible for them to understand it in the English, because they themselves do not in Latin. And of pure malice that they cannot have their will, they slay their brethren for their faith they have in our Saviour, and therein utter their bloody wolfish tyranny, and what they be within, and whose disciples. Herewith, reader, be committed unto the grace of our Saviour Jesus, unto whom and God our Father through him be praise for ever and for ever. Amen.

The principles of Scripture perfectly learned, all the rest is more easy.

A

FRUITFUL AND GODLY TREATISE

EXPRESSING

THE RIGHT INSTITUTION AND USAGE

OF

THE SACRAMENTS OF BAPTISM,

AND THE

SACRAMENT OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.

A FRUITFUL AND GODLY TREATISE,

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SACRAMENT OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.

TO understand the pith of the sacraments, how they came up, and the very meaning of them, we must consider diligently the manners and fashions of the Hebrews, which were a people of great gravity and sadness and earnest in all their doings; if any notable thing chanced among them, so that they not only wrote, but also set up pillars, and marks, and divers signs to testify the same unto their posterity, and named the places where the things were done, with such names as could not but keep the deeds in memory. As Jacob called the place where he saw God face to face, *Pheniel*, that is, God's face. And the place where the Egyptians mourned for Jacob seven days, the people of the country called *Abel Miram*, (that is) the lamentation of the Egyptians, to the intent that such names should keep the gests and stories in mind.

Writings and monuments preserve the memory of notable doings.

Gen. xxxii.

Gen. l.

And likewise in all their covenants they not only promised one to another and sware thereon, but also set up signs and tokens thereof, and gave the places names to keep the thing in mind. And they used thereto such circumstances, protestations, solemn fashions, and ceremonies, to confirm the covenants, and to testify that they were made with great earnest advise and deliberation, to the intent

A sure band of all covenants amongst the Jews.

that it should be to much shame and to much abomination, both before God and man, to break them ever after.

Gen. xxi. As Abraham (Gen. xxi.) when he made a covenant of peace with Abimelech king of the Philistines, after they had eaten and drunk together, and sworn, he put seven lambs by themselves, and Abimelech received them of his hand, to testify that he there had digged a certain well, and that the right thereof pertained to him. And he called the well Beersheba; the well of swearing, or the well of seven; because of the oath, and of the seven lambs, and by that title did Abraham his children challenge it many hundred years after. And when Jacob and Laban made a covenant together, (Gen. xxxi.) they cast up an heap of stones in witness, and called it Gilead, the heap of witness, and they bound each other for them and their posterity, that neither part should pass the heap to the other's countryward, to hurt or conquer their land: and Laban bound Jacob also, that he should take no other wives besides his daughters, to vex him. And of all that covenant, they made that heap a witness, calling it the witness-heap, that their children should enquire the cause of the name, and their father should declare unto them the history. And such fashions as they used among themselves, did God also use to themward in all his notable deeds, whether of mercy in delivering them, or of wrath in punishing their disobedience and transgression, in all his promises to them, and covenants made between them and him.

The well of swearing or the well of seven.

Gen. xxxi.

A heap of stones was a sufficient band for all covenants.

Gen. ix. As when after the general flood God made a covenant with Noah and all mankind and also with all living creatures, that he would no more drown the world, he gave them the rainbow to be a sign of the promise; and for to make it the better believed, and to keep it in mind for ever, he said: When I bring clouds upon the earth, I will put my bow in the clouds, and will look on it, and remember the everlasting covenant made between God and all living creatures.

The rainbow a pledge of God's promise.

Gen. xvii. And Abram, (which signifieth an excellent father) he

named Abraham, the father of a great multitude of people, because he had promised to make him even so, and that his seed should be as the stars, and as the sand of the sea innumerable: and that name gave he him as a seal of the promise to confirm it, and to strengthen the faith of Abraham and his posterity; and to keep the promise in mind, that they might have wherewith to bind God and to conjure him, as Moses and the holy prophets ever do, holding him fast to his own promise, and binding him with his own words, and bringing forth the obligation and seal thereof, in all times of necessity and temptation.

The blessing of God to Abraham.

After that he made a covenant with Abraham to be his God, and the God of his posterity, and their shield and defender, and Abraham promised for him and his seed to be his people, and to believe and trust in him, and to keep his commandments, which covenant God caused to be written in the flesh of Abraham, and in the males of all his posterity, commanding the males to be circumcised the eighth day, or to be slain: which circumcision was the seal and obligation of the said covenant, to keep it in mind, and to testify that it was an earnest thing, whereby God challenged them to be his people, and required the keeping of his laws of them, and faith to trust in him only, and in no other thing for help and succour, and all that can be needful and necessary for man. And whereby he condemned the disobedient and rebellious, and punished them, and whereby also the godly challenged him to be their God and Father, and to help and succour them at need, and to minister all things unto them according to all his promises.

Gen. xvii.

Circumcision, the seal of God's covenant with us.

And though the seal of this covenant were not written in the flesh of the females, yet it served the womankind, bound them to God, to trust in him, and to keep his laws, as well as it did the men children, and the womankind not circumcised in the flesh, yet, through the help of the sign written in the males, loving God's law, and trusting wholly in him, were truly circumcised in the heart and soul be-

fore God. And as the maid children believing and loving God, whereunto the outward circumcision bound them, were truly circumcised before God; even so the males having the flesh circumcised, yet not believing nor loving God (whereunto the outward circumcision bound them) were uncircumcised before God, and God not bound to them, but had good right thereby to punish them: so that neither circumcision, or to be uncircumcised, is ought worth (as St. Paul saith Rom. ii.) save for the keeping of the law; for if circumcision help not to keep the law, so serveth it for nought, but for to condemn. And as the womankind uncircumcised were in as good case, as the males that were circumcised; even so the infants of the maids which died uncircumcised, were in as good case as the infants of males which died circumcised. And in as good case by the same rule were the men children that died before the eighth day: or else let them tell, why the covenant made between God and Abraham saved the man child as soon as it was born, yea, as soon as it had life in the mother's womb, for the covenant that God would be God of Abraham's seed, went over the fruit as soon as it had life; and then there is no reason, but that the covenant must needs pertain to the males as soon as to the females. Wherefore the covenant must needs save the males unto the eighth day, and then the covenant was, that the rulers should slay the males only, if their friends did not circumcise them, not that the circumcision saved them, but to testify the covenant only. And then it followeth, that the infants that die unbaptised of us Christian, that would baptise them at due time, and teach them to believe in Christ, are in as good case as these that die baptised; for as the covenant made to the faith of Abraham, went over his seed, as soon as it had life, and before the sign was put on them; even so must needs the covenant made to all that believe in Christ's blood, go over that seed as soon as it hath life in the mother's womb, before the sign be put on it. For it is the covenant only, and not the sign that

Rom. ii.

God's promise reacheth to all Abraham's posterity.

saveth us, though the sign be commanded to be put on at due time, to stir up faith of the covenant that saveth us: and instead of circumcision came our baptism; whereby we be received into the religion of Christ, and made partakers of his passion, and members of his church, and whereby we are bound to believe in Christ, and in the Father through him, for the remission of sins, and to keep the law of Christ, and to love each other, as he loved us; and whereby (if we thus believe and love) we calling God to be our Father, and to do his will, shall receive remission of our sins through the merits of Jesus Christ his Son, as he hath promised. So now by baptism we be bound to God, and God to us, and the bond and seal of the covenant is written in our flesh, by which seal or writing God challengeth faith and love, under pain of just damnation. And we (if we believe and love) challenge (as it is above rehearsed) all mercy, and whatsoever we need, or else God must be an untrue God. And God hath bound us Christian men to receive this sign for our infirmities sake, to be a witness between him and us, and also to put this sign upon our children, not binding us to any appointed time; but as it shall seem to us most convenient, to bring them to the knowledge of God the Father, and of Christ, and of their duty to God and his law. And as the circumcised in the flesh, and not in the heart, have no part in God's good promises; even so they that be baptised in the flesh and not in heart, have no part in Christ's blood. And as the circumcised in the heart and not in the flesh, had part in God's good promises; even so a Turk unbaptised (because he either knoweth not, that he ought to have it, or cannot for tyranny,) if he believe in Christ, and love as Christ did and taught, then hath he his part in Christ's blood.

Baptism to us is as circumcision was to the Jews.

And though the outward circumcision, by the which God challengeth them to do him service, yea, whether they would or not, and by the which they were taught to believe in God, and in the seed of Abraham that should

come and bless all the world, and to love the law, and certified them also on the other side, of the good will of God, if they so did, though (I say) it was the chief and most principal sign, (for so are such ceremonies called in the Hebrew, because they yet signify other things, than appeareth to the outward sense) yet God gave them divers other signs, both to stir up faith in the promise made them, and also to keep the benefit of the mercy of God in mind.

Exod. xiii. As in Exodus xiii. all the first born both of man and beast are sanctified and dedicated unto the Lord, for a remembrance, that the Lord slew all the first-born of Egypt; this did God command to be observed, that their children should ask why: and he commanded their fathers to teach their children, when they should ask what was meant thereby.

Exod. xx. Also Exodus xx. the Sabbath is commanded to be observed, to be a sign, and to testify that God had sanctified, and dedicated or chosen them, that they should be his people, to keep his laws, and that he would be their God, to keep them; and to testify also, that God hath created all things of nought in six days, and rested the seventh.

Numb. x. Also Numb. x. where Almighty God commanded the children of Israel to blow a trumpet, when they entered into battle against their enemies, and promised that they should be thought upon before the Lord their God, and saved from their enemies.

And likewise in their solemn feasts God commanded them to blow trumpets over the sacrifice, to be a sign unto them, that God would think on them according to the covenant made in the blood of the sacrifice. Lo, the trumpets were commanded to be blown, not that God delighted in the noise of the trumpets, but in the faith of his people.

Numb. xv. Also Num. xv. the Israelites are commanded to make yellow guards upon their garments, to put them in remembrance to keep his commandments, that they should

do nothing after their own imagination, nor observe any fashion that pleased their own eyes. Whereby ye see that ceremonies are not a service to God, but a service to man, to put him in mind of the covenant, and to stir up faith and love, which are God's spiritual sacrifices in man's heart, &c.

And Joshua iv. when the water of Jordan had given place, to go over by dry ground, God commanded Joshua to take twelve stones out of the bottom of Jordan, and to pitch them on the land, to keep the deed in memory; and commanded when the children should ask what the stones meant, that their father should teach them. Joshua iv.

In the 3 Kings xi. Ahijah the prophet tare the cloak of Jeroboam in twelve pieces, and bad him take ten, in sign that he should reign over ten of the tribes. 3 Kings xi.

In 4 Kings xiii. Elias made Joash king of Israel open a window eastward toward the Syrians, and made him to shoot out an arrow, and said, It is the arrow of victory through the Lord against the Syrians: and that did he to stablish the king's faith in God, that he should with God's help overcome the Syrians; and then he bad the king smite the ground with an arrow, and the king smote it thrice, whereby he prophesied and certified the king that he should thrice overcome the Syrians. 4 Kings xiii.

And Isaiah in his twelfth chapter was commanded to go naked and barefoot, to be a sign that Egypt, in whom the children of Israel trusted, should be so carried away of Nebuchadnezzer. Isaiah xii.

And Jeremiah xxvii. cometh among the people with bonds and chains put about his neck, and sheweth them unto all the kings of those countries, in token that they must be under the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. God so used to give them signs, that they would not believe without signs, as ye may see not only in the Old Testament, but also in the New, how the Jews asked Christ saying, What sign dost thou shew us? &c. Jerem. xxvii.

And Paul, (1 Cor. i.) The Jews asked signs.

Luke i. Also Zacharias, John Baptist's father, asked a sign; and the angel gave it him.

Luke i. Christ's mother also asked a sign, and the angel gave her Elizabeth to a sign.

And unto the shepherds gave the angel a sign, as ye

Luke ii. read Luke ii.

Exod xii. And (Exod. xii.) God gave the children of Israel the sign of Pesah, which we call the Easter Lamb, for a sign that the time was come that the children of Israel should be delivered out of Egypt. And therefore God sent Moses and Aaron to them, which wrought many miracles among them, to stir up their faith to the promise of that deliverance, against the manifold and sore temptations to the contrary, through the most straight and grievous bondage and merciless oppression. And in that most specially, that Pharaoh was waxed ten times worse to them after the coming of Moses and Aaron than before, yet in the last night, in which he had promised to smite the first

Exod. xii. born of Egypt both of man and of beast, and to deliver them; he commanded them to take for every house a lamb or a kid, and to slay them, and to strike the door posts with the blood, to be a sign to them, and a seal of the promise that God would deliver them that night, both out of the hands of Pharoah, and also from the smiting of the angel that went about all Egypt, and slew the first-born in every house.

The Institution of the paschal lamb. And this sign Pesah, beside that it was a seal of the promise to be delivered the same night, to stablish the faith; and commanded to be observed ever after yearly, to keep the benefit in memory; it was also a very prophecy of the passion of Christ, describing the very manner and fashion of his death, and the effect and virtue thereof also. In whose stead is the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ come, as baptism in the room or stead of circumcision.

To see how Christ was prophesied and described

therein, consider and mark, how that the kid or lamb must be without spot or blemish, and so was Christ only of all mankind, in the sight of God and of his law. It must be taken up the tenth day of the first month, which is the tenth day of the first new moon in March, for so count they their months from the new moon, and there begin in the time of March with us. And the same day came Christ to Jerusalem, there to be offered and to suffer his passion.

It must be offered the fourteenth day of the same month at night, and the same hour began Christ his passion, he was the same hour betrayed, and persecuted all night, and taken in the morning early. The fear of death was the same hour upon him, neither slept he any more after, but went immediately, as soon as he had comforted his disciples, into the place where he was taken, to abide his persecutors, where also he sweat water and blood, of very agony conceived of his passion so nigh at hand.

Christ's death figured by the paschal lamb.

The blood stricken on the post saved them, that they were not plagued with the Egyptians, and delivered them out of the captivity of Pharaoh. And the blood of Christ, stricken on the posts of our consciences, delivereth us from the captivity of Pharaoh the devil, and smiting of his angels, &c. There might not a bone thereof be broken: no more were there of Christ's, though the two that were hanged with him, had either of them his legs and his arms broken.

Luke xxii.

Moreover that it was a very prophecy of the death of Christ, and of the virtue of his passion, it is made the more manifest by the words of Christ himself, (Luke xxii.) for the night before his passion, when he had eaten Pesah with his disciples, he said, I will no more eat of it henceforth till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. As who should say, This memorial which we yearly have hitherto observed, was once fulfilled in the kingdom of this world, when your fathers were delivered out of bondage and servitude of the Egyptians. But it hath yet another signification

Christ's exposition of the paschal lamb.

hitherto unknown unto you, which must be fulfilled spiritually in the kingdom of God, by my passion that is at hand, and blood that now shall shortly be shed, by the which ye shall be delivered out of the power of Satan, sin and hell, and made heirs of the kingdom of heaven. Neither was it the Lamb's blood that delivered you then. For what regard hath God in the blood of sheep and calves? but the blood of Christ, (whom that lamb figured, and described his innocence, pureness and obedience to his Father, and compassion to mankindward, whose feeble nature he had put on with all the infirmities of the same, save sin) did then deliver you, to bring you to the faith of this deliverance, and to make you through faith partakers thereof.

The Scriptures of God are full of hidden mysteries.

Many things there be in the Scripture which have a carnal fulfilling, even there where they be spoken or done, and yet have another spiritual signification, to be fulfilled long after in Christ and his kingdom, and yet never known till the thing be done. As the serpent of brass which Moses hanged up in the wilderness, though it took effect carnally in the wilderness, yet it so describeth the lifting up of Christ upon the cross, and the virtue of his passion, that no tongue could better declare it to make the heart feel it.

Num. xxi.

John iii.

If ye ask: Why they may not be known till the thing be done, and what prophecy may help? I answer, If men did understand them before they were done, they would endeavour to let the fulfilling of them, and when the signification is fulfilled, then to see how plainly it was described in the Scripture doth exceedingly confirm the faith thereof, and make it better to be understood.

How the paschal lamb was spiritually fulfilled in the kingdom of heaven.

And when this Pesah was fulfilled spiritually in the kingdom of heaven, by the death and bloodshedding of Christ, it ended there. And in the room thereof (concerning that spiritual signification) came the sign of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, as Baptism came instead of circumcision, things more

easy, and less painful and tedious to be observed, and more gentle to provoke and entice the heathen. For as the lamb describeth the death of Christ to come, and the manner of his passion, by which we should be delivered; even so doth the ceremony of the body and blood of Christ testify unto us, that he hath given himself to death for us, and redeemed us already, if we believe and cleave fast to the profession of our baptism, to walk therein, or will (if any tempest had driven us out of the right course) return to the right way again.

The institution of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ. The paschal lamb and the death and sacrifice of Christ's body and blood compared together.

This to be so, the words of the institution declare, which are these, (1 Cor. xi.) The Lord Jesus, the night that he was betrayed, took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and said, Take, eat, this is my body that shall be given for you, this do in remembrance of me. And likewise he took the cup when supper was done, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, this do, as often as ye shall drink it, in the remembrance of me. Here ye see by these words that it was ordained to keep the death of Christ in mind, and to testify that his body was given, and his blood shed for us. And (Luke xxii.) This is my body that is given for you, this do in remembrance of me. And this cup is the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you. Lo, here ye see again that it was instituted to keep the death of Christ in mind, and to testify wherefore he died, even to save us from sin, death and hell, that we should seek none other means to be delivered with; for there is none other name for us to be saved by, but only by the name of Jesus. (Acts. iv.) And as the children of Israel stung of the fiery serpents could have none other remedy to save them from present death, than to go and behold the brazen serpent hanged up by Moses in the wilderness, which looking on only healed them; even so if the sting of death, which is sin, have wounded their soul with the working of the law in the consciences, there is none other remedy than to run to Christ, which shed his blood, hanging upon the

1 Cor xi.

The chief and only cause of the institution of the sacrament.

Acts iv.

1 Cor. xv.

cross; and to his everlasting testament and merciful promise that it was shed for us, for the remission of our sins. If thou be stung with conscience of sin, and the cockatrice of thy poisoned nature hath beheld herself in the glass of the righteous law of God, there is none other salve for remedy, than to run to Christ immediately, and to the Father through him; and to say, Father I have sinned against thee, and thy godly, holy, and righteous law, and against my brother, whom I ought of all right to love for thy sake as well as myself: forgive me, O Father, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, according to thy most merciful promises and testament, and I will ask my brother forgiveness (if the peace I mean be not made already) and will make to my power such satisfaction to him as shall seem right in his eyes, if he be reasonable; or as the congregation shall assign, or faithful men thereunto appointed by the congregation, or such as I and he will agree upon; and will endeavour myself to do so no more, with the help of thy grace. And will submit myself to the wholesome ordinance of the congregation, according the doctrine of thy Son Jesus and of his faithful apostles. For there is none other name given under heaven whereby we shall be saved, but only the name of Jesus.

In all afflictions we must resort to Christ.

We must be ordered by the congregation.

Only by the name of Jesus Christ cometh our salvation.

Acts iv.

Hereof ye see that the sacrament is an absolution of our sins, as often as we receive it, where it is truly taught and understood, and received aright.

Hereof ye see also, that as the Hebrews wrote their stories in covenants and signs, giving their signs such names as could not but keep them in mind; so God the Father did follow the ensample of the people (or they following him) and commanded his promises, covenants and prophecies, to be written in gestures, signs and ceremonies, giving them names that could not but keep his covenants in mind. Even so Christ wrote the covenant of his body and blood in bread and wine, giving them that name, that ought to keep covenant in remembrance.

The nature of the sacrament of the supper of our Lord.

Sacraments and ceremonies were first ordained by God to keep his covenants and promises in remembrance.

And hereof ye see, that our sacraments are bodies of

stories only, and that there is none other virtue in them, than to testify and exhibit to the senses and understanding, the covenants and promises made in Christ's blood. And here ye see that where the sacraments, or ceremonies, are not rightly understood there they be clean unprofitable.

Sacraments are as stories to keep Christ's covenants in memory.

And as the circumcision in the flesh, their hearts still uncircumcised, hating the law of God and believing in their own imaginations, were circumcised to their damnation.

Circumcision without faith availed nothing.

And as the baptised in the flesh only, the heart still unclean, neither believing in Christ for the forgiveness of their sins, neither loving their neighbour for Christ's sake, are baptised also unto their greater damnation. (For though God hath right to all men, because he hath created and made man,) yet to all such persons by reason of the sign and badge, and of their own consent, grant and promise, he hath more right to the calling of them to the keeping of his law, if they trust in him only; or to damn them because when they know their duty, or might if they would, (the sign moving them and giving them an occasion to ask the rather) and yet do it not; even so all that come to the sacrament for any other purpose than it was ordained and instituted for, (that is to say) to seek absolution of their sins, with a set purpose to sin no more, as nigh as they can, and to call to memory the benefit of the passion of Christ, with the meditation to weaken the flesh, and to strength the spirit against her, and to give thanks again; (that is to say) to call to mind how much he is bound to love his neighbour, to help his need, and to bear his infirmity and to forgive him, if he have offended and desire forgiveness, promising to amend, whereunto Christ bindeth all that will be partakers of his blood. All such as are not thus prepared, come to their greater damnation. I pass over with silence the wicked and damnable doctrine of these servants of mammon, which for lucre pervert the true use of the sacrament, and hide it from the people for their gain, teaching it to be a sacrifice, instituted of God

Baptism without faith availeth nothing.

to help the souls of the dead in purgatory, and that it will make men rich, and bring them to such promotion as Christ never promised his disciples, but forbade it them.

Baptism and the sacrament of Christ's body and blood are both necessary.

Some will say, This sacrament needed not, baptism is enough, baptism is a receiving into religion, and there is the covenants made, what we shall do and what we shall have. And baptism is a sign whereby God hath right to us, and we to God and to Christ, and whereby every man hath right to call other to do their duties, and to rebuke them that will not. Neither our salvation so greatly standeth in that or any other sacrament, that we could not be saved without them, by preaching the word only. Nevertheless God hath written his will, to have his benefits kept in memory, to his glory and our benefit, and namely this benefit of all benefits, wherein only the pith of our salvation resteth; therefore though the effect of it be signified by baptism, and though we be baptised to believe in the death of Christ, and to die with him by the mortifying of the flesh; yet doth this sacrament through the rehearsing of the covenant, and breaking of the bread, and pouring out of wine, much more lively express the whole story, and keep it better in memory, by daily repeating thereof, and hath more might and vehemency to heal the consciences stung with fresh sin. For the nature of man is so weak, so feeble, and so frail, that he cannot but sin, as there is no man that liveth and sinneth not.

The sacrament of baptism, what it worketh in us.

The sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, what it worketh in us.

Mark x.

The law driveth a sinner to desperation.

The devil enemy to man.

The flesh enemy to man.

And when he is so fallen, then the law looketh upon him with so terrible a countenance, and so thundereth in his ears, that he dare not abide, but turneth his back and to go, but the enemy still assaileth him on the other side, to persuade him that God hath cast him away, saying, They that be God's have power to keep his law, thou hast not, but breaketh them; ergo, thou art a cast-away and a damned creature, and hell gapeth, and setteth open her mouth to devour him: and the flesh also wrestleth with the spirit to keep him down, and to take him prisoner, and to

stop his mouth that he cry no more upon her, that she might sin at pleasure without all fear.

The careless swine that consent unto sin, feel not these things; neither the hypocrites that have put a visard on the face of the law, and make her look with such a countenance as pleaseth them, but the poor folks that have the eyes open, and consent, and fain would do the law, they feel that cannot be expressed with tongue. Neither is there living any man, that feeleth the virtue and power of the blood of Christ, which hath not first felt the strong pains of hell.

The impenitent and wilful sinner feeleth not the wrath of God in his law.

Seeing then that this man is so sick, so prone and ready to fall, and so cruelly invaded when he hath sinned, of the fiend, the flesh and the law, that he is oft put to flight, and feared and made to run away from his father; therefore hath the God of all mercy and of his infinite pity and bottomless compassion set up this sacrament as a sign on a high hill, whence it may be seen on every side afar and near, to call again them that be fled and run away. And with this sacrament he (as it were) clucketh to them as an hen doth for her chickens, to gather them under the wings of his mercy. And hath commanded his sacrament to be had in continual use to put them in mind of mercy, laid up for them in Christ's blood, and to witness and testify it unto them, and to be the seal thereof. For the sacrament doth much more vehemently print lively the faith, and make it sink down into the heart, than do bare words only. As a man is more sure of that he heareth, seeth, feeleth, smelleth and tasteth, than that he heareth only.

The law, the flesh and the devil are three great enemies unto man.

Why the sacraments were chiefly ordained by God.

God hath commanded his sacraments to be had in daily use, and the cause why.

Now when the words of the testament and promises are spoken over the bread: This is my body that shall be broken for you: This is my blood that shall be shed for you; they confirm the faith: but much more when the sacrament is seen with the eyes, and the bread broken, the wine poured out or looked on; and yet more when I taste it and smell it. As ye see when a man maketh

The sacrament of Christ's body and blood is a sure token of Christ's promise of our salvation in his death.

promise to another with light words between themselves, and as they departed, he to whom the promise is made, beginneth to doubt whether the other spake earnestly or mocked, and doubted whether he will remember his promise to bide by it or not. But when any man speaketh with advisement and deliberation, the words are then more credible; but yet if he swear, it confirmeth the thing more; and yet the more if he strake hands, if he give earnest, if he call record, if he give his hand writing, and seal it; so is the promise more and more believed, for the heart gathereth, Lo he spake with advisement, deliberation, and good sadness; he clapped hands, called records, and put to his hand and seal; the man cannot be so faint without the fear of God as to deny all this; shame shall make him bide by his promise though he were such a man, that I could not compel him if he would deny it. If a young man break a ring between him and a maid, doth not the fact testify and make a presumption to all men, that his heart meant, as his words spake?

Judges xiii. Manoah, Sampson's father, when he had seen an angel, (Judges xiii.) he said to his wife, We shall surely die because we have seen the Lord. But his wife gathered other comfort of the circumstances, and said, If the Lord would kill us, he would not have received such offerings of our hands, nor shewed us such things as he hath, nor told us of things to come. Even so our hearts gather of the circumstances, protestations, and other miracles of God, good arguments and reasons, to stablish our weak faith withal, such as we could not gather at bare words only.

A brief collection of the promises. And this we dispute, God sent his Son in our nature, and made him feel all our infirmities, that move us to sin, and named him Jesus, (that is to say) Saviour, because Mat. i. he should save his people from their sins. (Matt. i.) And after his death he sent his apostles to preach the things or tidings, and to thrust it in at the ears of us, and set up a sacrament of it, to testify it to be a seal of it, to thrust it in, not at the ears only, by the rehearsing of the promises

and testament over it, neither at our eyes only in beholding it, but beat it in through our feeling, tasting and smelling also, and to be repeated daily, and to be ministered to us. He would not (think we) make half so much ado with us if he loved us not, or if he would not have us fain come, and be as merciful to us, as he was to his friends in the old time that fell and rose again. God so then used the Jews (to whom all ceremonies were first given, and from whom they came to us) even such fashions as they used among themselves in all his promises and covenants, not for his necessity, but for ours, that such things should be a witness and testimony, between him and us, to confirm the faith of his promise, that we should not waver nor doubt in them, when we look on the seals of his obligations, wherewith he hath bound himself. And to keep the promises and covenants better in mind, and to make them the more deep sink in our hearts, and to be more earnestly regarded, and that we should ask what such things meant, and why God commanded them to be observed; that ignorance should not excuse, if we know not what we ought to do and believe, for natural reason ought to teach us that the outward, corporal and bodily thing cannot help the spiritual soul, and that God hath not delectation in such fantasy. Now if we were diligent to search for the good will of God, and would ask what such ceremonies meant, it were impossible, but then God (which hath promised, Matt. vii. If we seek we shall find,) would send us true interpreters of his signs or sacraments. Matt. vii.

To an ignorant and unfaithful person the sacraments and ceremonies are sin.

And he that being of a lawful age observeth a ceremony and knoweth not the intent, to him is the ceremony not only unprofitable, but also hurtful, and cause of sin. In that he is not careful and diligent to search for it, and he there observeth them with a false faith of his own imagination, thinking as all idolaters do, and ever have done, that the outward work is a sacrifice and service to God. The same therefore sinneth yet more deeper and more damnable. Neither is idolatry any other thing than to believe

Idolatry, what it is.

The spiritual and right serving of God what it is.

that a visible ceremony is a service to the invisible God whose service is spiritual as he is a spirit, and is none other thing than to know that all is of him and to trust in him only for all things, and to love him for his great goodness and mercy above all, and our neighbours as ourselves for his sake: unto which spiritual serving of God, and to lead us to the same, the old ceremonies were ordained.

These be now sufficient concerning the intent and use of the ceremonies and how they came up. Now let us consider the words of this Testament and promises as they be rehearsed of the three evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke, and of the apostle Paul. For John which wrote last, touched nothing that was sufficiently declared of other. Matthew, in the twenty-sixth, thus saith, When they were eating Jesus took bread and gave thanks, and brake and gave his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body: And he took the cup and thanked, and gave it them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood, which is of the New Testament, that is shed for many for the remission of sins. First, ye see by these words that the body was given to death, and the blood shed for the remission of sins, and that for many. But who are these many? Verily they that turn to God to believe in him only, and to endeavour themselves to keep his law from henceforth. Which many, yet in respect of them that love not the law, are but very few, and even that little flock that gave themselves wholly to follow Christ, wherefore if any man think he believe in Christ, and have not the law written in his heart to consent that his duty is to love his brother for Christ's sake as Christ loved him, and to endeavour himself so to do, the faith of that same man is vain, and built upon sand of his own imagination, and not upon the rock of God's word; for his word unto which he hath bound himself is, that they only which turn to God to keep his laws shall have mercy for Christ's sake. Drink of it all, for it is my blood of the New Testament, for it is (that is to say) the drink that is in the cup, or if ye list,

Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi.

The institution of the sacraments of Christ's body and blood.

Who they are that receive benefit of Christ's death.

The cup of the blood of Christ what it is.

the cup is my blood of the New Testament, taking the cup for drink, by a manner of speaking used in all tongues, as when we say, I have drunk a cup of wine, we take there the cup for the wine. My blood of this New Testament, that is to say, my blood for whose shedding sake this New Testament and covenant is made to you, for the forgiveness of sin.

The Old Testament made between God and your fathers in mount Sinai, in which life was promised to them only that kept it, and to the breakers, death, wrath and vengeance, and to be accursed, and no mention made of mercy which was confirmed with blood (Exodus xxiv.) Moses offered half the blood to God, and sprinkled the people with the other half, to confirm the covenant and to bind both parties: neither was there any covenant made that was not confirmed with blood as it is rehearsed, (Heb. ix.) And as we see in the books of Moses, whose custom of blood-shedding was not only to confirm those old covenants, but also to be a prophecy of the blood that should be shed to confirm this Testament. That old cruel and fearful testament, which drew the people away, so that they durst not abide the voice of thunder, nor the terrible sight of the fire, but went and stood afar off, was confirmed with the blood of calves. But this new and gentle Testament which calleth again and promiseth mercy to all that will amend: And as it is a better testament, so is it confirmed with with a better blood to make men see love, to love again, and to be a greater confirmation of the love promised. For if he gave us his Son, what will he deny us? If God so loved us when we were sinners and knew him not, that he gave his Son for us, how much more loveth he us now, when we love again, and would fain keep his commandments? In the old covenants the people were sprinkled with blood of calves without in their bodies to bind them to keep the law, else were bound to just damnation for the breaking of it.

Exod. xxiv.

Heb. ix.

The great and merciful difference between the Old Testament and the New.

The great mercy of God to mankind.

Here it is said, Drink of it every one, that your souls

within may be sprinkled and washed through faith with the blood of the Son of God for the forgiveness of sin, and to be partakers of a more easy and kind Testament, under which if you sin through fragility you shall be warned lovingly, and received to mercy if you will turn again and amend.

Mark xiv. Mark in the fourteenth, And as they did eat, Jesus took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to them and said, Take, eat, this is my body: and he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he took it to them, and they all drank of it: And he said to them, This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many. This is all one with Matthew as is aforesaid.

Luke xxii. Luke in the twenty-second, And he took bread and when he had given thanks, he brake it and gave to them, saying, This is my body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also, when he had supped he took the cup, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood which is shed for you.

The cause of the institution of the sacrament of Christ's body

Here is also to be noted that the cause of the institution was to be a memorial to testify that Christ's body was given, and his blood shed for us. And again, where Matthew and Mark said, This is my blood in the New Testament. Luke saith, This cup is the New Testament in my blood which shall be shed for you. This is a strange speaking, and far from the use of our tongue, to call the sign and confirmation by the name of the thing that is signified and confirmed. The Testament is that Christ's blood is shed for our sins. And Christ saith, This cup is that Testament, signifying thereby that the thing that is meant by this ceremony is that we believe that his blood shedding is the remission of our sins, which is the very Testament.

The sign of the body of Christ is called by the name of Christ's body, which is there signified.

1 Cor. xi. Paul, (1 Cor. xi.) saith on this manner: That which I delivered unto you I received of the Lord. For the Lord Jesus the same night in the which he was betrayed, took bread: and when he had given thanks he brake it and said,

Take ye and eat; this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me: After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood: this do as often, as ye drink it in the remembrance of me. For as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death until he come.

As Matthew and Mark agree in these words, so do Lucas and Paul. And as it is above declared upon the words of Luke, and so here by oft repeating one thing. This do in remembrance of me. This cup is the New Testament in my blood. This do as oft as ye drink it in the remembrance of me. Again, As oft as ye shall eat of this bread and drink of this cup, so oft ye must declare the Lord's death. By this often repeating (I say) ye may evidently perceive the cause, intent, and whole purpose of the institution of this sacrament was to testify and confirm the faith of the testament made in the death of Christ, how that for his sake our sins shall be forgiven.

So: Do this in the remembrance of me, that is to say, Take bread and wine and rehearse the covenant and testament over them, How that my body was broken, and my blood shed for many, and then give them to the people to eat and drink, to be a sign and earnest, and the seal of the testament, and cry upon them without ceasing to believe in me only for the remission of sins and not to despair, how weak soever they be, only if they hang on me, and desire power to keep the law after my doctrine and example of my life, and do mourn and be sorry because they cannot do that good thing which they would.

Forth saith Paul, Whosoever shall eat of this bread or drink of the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, that is to say, whoso receiveth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ with an unclean heart, not forsaking the old lusts of the flesh. Not purposing to follow Christ, and to love his 1 Cor. xi.

neighbour, as only Christ was to him merciful; the same sinneth against the body and blood of Christ; in that he maketh a mock of the earnest death of Christ, and, as it is written Hebrews the tenth, treadeth Christ under foot and counteth the blood of the testament wherewith he was sanctified, as an unholy thing, and doth dishonour to the spirit of grace.

Heb. x.

What the sacrament meaneth, and why the same was instituted.

Of this ye may perceive again what the sacrament meaneth, and what the intent of the ordinance was, and how such ceremonies came up, and whence they had their beginning, and what the fruit thereof is, and what is therein to be sought; and though this were enough so that I might here well cease, yet, because the unquiet, scrupulous and superstituous nature of man, wholly given to idolatry, hath stirred up such traditions about this one sacrament most specially, I cannot but speak thereof somewhat more, and declare what my conscience thinketh in this matter.

There are three opinions about the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.

Ye shall understand therefore that there is great dissention, and three opinions about the words of Christ where he saith in pronouncing the testament over the bread, This is my body. And in pronouncing it over the wine, This is my blood. One part say that these words, This is my body: This is my blood, compel us to believe, under pain of damnation, that the bread and wine are changed into the very body and blood of Christ really. As the water at Cana Galilee was turned into very wine.

The first opinion.

The second opinion.

The second part saith, We be not bound to believe that bread and wine are changed, but only that his body and blood are there presently.

The third opinion.

The third say, We be bound by these words only to believe that Christ's body was broken, and his blood shed for the remission of our sins, and that there is no other satisfaction for sin than the death and passion of Christ.

A declaration made by them of the first opinion above mentioned.

The first say these words, This is my body: This is my blood, compel us to believe, that things there shewed are the very body and blood of Christ really. But bread and

wine, say they, cannot be Christ's natural body, therefore the bread and wine, are changed, turned, altered and transubstantiated into the very body and blood of Christ. And they of this opinion have busied themselves in seeking subtilties and similitudes, to prove how the very body and blood might be there under the similitude of bread and wine only, the very bread and wine being thus transubstantiated. And these men have been so occupied in slaying all that will not captive their wits to believe them, that they never taught nor understood, that the sacrament is an absolution to all that thereby believe in the body and blood of Christ.

A declaration of them of the second opinion above mentioned.

The second part grant with the first, that the words compel us to believe that the things shewed in the sacrament, are the very body and blood of Christ. But where the first say bread and wine cannot be the very body and blood of Christ, there they vary and dissent from them, affirming that bread and wine may, and also is, Christ's body really, and very blood of Christ; and say, that it is as true to say that bread is Christ's body, and that wine is his blood, as it is true to say Christ being a very man is also very God. And they say, As the Godhead and manhood in Christ, are in such manner coupled together, that man is very God, and God very man; even so the very body and the bread are so coupled, that it is as true to say that bread is the body of Christ, and the blood so annexed there with the wine, that it is even as true to say that the wine is Christ's blood.

The first though they have slain so many, in and for the defence of their opinion, yet they are ready to receive the second sort to fellowship, not greatly striving with them or abhorring the presence of bread and wine with the very body and blood so that they yet by that means may keep him there still, and hope to sell him as dear as before, and also some to buy him, and not to minish the price.

The third sort affirm, that the words meant no more but only that we believe by the things that are there

A declaration of them of the third opinion above mentioned.

shewed, that Christ's body was broken and his blood shed for our sins, if we will forsake our sins and turn to God to keep his law. And they say that these sayings, This is my body: and This is my blood, shewing bread and wine are true, as Christ meant them, and as the people of that country (to whom Christ spake) were accustomed to understand such words, and as the Scripture useth in a thousand places to speak. As when one of us saith, I have drunk a cup of good wine, that saying is true as the man meant; that he drank wine only, and not the cup; which words haply in some other nation's ears, would sound that he drank the cup. And as when we say of a child, This is such a man's very face; the words are true, as the manner of our land is to understand them, that the face of the one is very like the other. And as when we say he gave me his faith and his truth in my hand, the words are true as we understand them, that he struck hands with me, or gave earnest in sign or token that he would bide by his promise, for the faith of a man doth alway rest in his soul, and cannot be given out though we give signs and tokens of them. Even so (say they) we have a thousand ensamples in the Scripture, where signs are named with the names of things signified by them. As Jacob called

Gen xxxii.

the place where he saw the Lord face to face, *Pheniel*, that is, God's face, when he saw the Lord face to face. Now it is true to say of that field, that it is God's face, though it be not his very face. The same field was so called to signify that Jacob there saw God face to face.

The chief hold and principal anchor that the two first have, is these words, This is my body: This is my blood. Unto these the third answereth as is above said; other texts they allege for themselves, which not only do not strength their cause, but rather make it worse. As in the

John vi.

sixth of John which they draw and wrest to the carnal and fleshly eating of Christ's body in the mouth, when it only meaneth of this eating by faith. For when Christ said, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man; and

Papists are the wresters of the Scriptures.

drink his blood ye have no life in you. This cannot be understood of the sacrament. For Abraham had life and all the old holy fathers, Christ's mother, Elizabeth, Zacharias, John Baptist, Simeon, Ann, and all the apostles, had life already by faith in Christ; of which not one had eaten his flesh and drunken his blood with their bodily mouths, but truth it is, that the righteous liveth by his faith; ergo, to believe and trust in Christ's blood is the eating that there was meant, as the text well proveth. If they say we grant that life cometh by faith, but we all that believe must be baptized to keep the law and to keep the covenant in mind; even so all that liveth by faith must receive the sacrament. I answer: The sacrament is a confirmation to weak consciences, and in no wise to be despised; howbeit many have lived by faith in the wilderness, which in twenty, thirty or forty years have not received the sacrament. Notwithstanding this oration is nothing to the purpose. For Christ spake to the blind and unbelieving Jews, testifying to them that they could have no life, except they should first eat his flesh, and drink his blood; ergo, This eating and drinking is meant only of that thing, that first bringeth life into the soul, and that is faith by your own confession. And therefore must it be understood of faith only, and not of the sacrament.

The sacraments are confirmations to weak consciences.

Faith increaseth by the worthy receiving of the sacraments.

And Matthew the last; I am with you always, even unto the end of the world; which may well be understood, and so was it of old doctors that by his spiritual being with us by faith, and in his Spirit; and so may that text of Matthew eighteen be understood, Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. There is many times two or three good men that meet together in Christ's name where the sacrament is not. And Paul, (Eph. iii.) boweth his knees for the Ephesians to God, That he would give them his riches, to be strengthened with his Spirit, that Christ may dwell in their hearts through faith. Where the heart then believeth in

Matt. xxviii.

Matt. xviii.

Eph. iii.

Christ, there dwelleth Christ in the heart; though there be no bread in the heart, neither yet in the maw.

The old doctors vary in their opinion of the sacrament.

The two first parties taking the old doctors to be on their side. I answer, many of the old doctors speak so mystically that they seem sometimes to affirm plainly that it is but bread and wine only concerning the substance. And that it is a figure of the body and blood of Christ only, and sometimes that is the very body and blood, therefore it were needless to wade any further herein.

An answer to them of the second opinion.

And unto them of the second opinion that the bread is his very body, I answer, ye must remember that the old doctors, as earnestly call it a sacrifice as they do Christ's body. But that ye deny: And say with the Epistle to the Hebrews, that he was but once sacrificed for altogether, when he offered and sacrificed himself to the Father for our sins, and can now no more be sacrificed. Christ dieth no more now, and therefore is no more sacrificed. Neither do we properly offer him to God. But he in his mortal flesh offered himself for us to God the Father, and purchased therewith a general pardon for ever.

Christ once sacrificed is a sacrifice for ever.

The doctrine of the papists.

And now doth God the Father proffer him and giveth him to us. And the priests in God's stead proffer him and give him unto the people for a remission and absolution of their sins daily, if they, by the moving and stiring of the sacrament believe in the body and blood of Christ.

Papists be aggrieved with such as consent not to their gross opinion.

Wherefore ye ought of no right to be angry with them of the third opinion, though they deny the doctors, where they seem to say that the sacrament is the very body of Christ. As they be not angry with you, when ye deny them, where they as earnestly affirm that it is a sacrifice. Nevertheless they answer, that doctors call it a sacrifice only because it is the memorial, the earnest and seal of that everlasting sacrifice offered once for all. And even so say they that the doctors called the sacrament the body and blood of Christ after the same manner only, because it is the memorial, the earnest and seal of body and

Signs commonly called by the name of things signified thereby.

blood, as the use of Scripture is to call signs by the names of things signified thereby.

And unto them of the first opinion, I answer, with the same reason, that it is impossible that the sacrament should be a very sacrifice. For neither the sacrifices of the old law which prophesied the sacrificing of Christ, neither yet our redemption was fulfilled at night. For if the Scriptures and prophecies were then fulfilled, and we then redeemed, Christ died on the morrow in vain, and false are the apostles and evangelists that preach his body breaking, and blood-shedding, under Pontius Pilate, by the persecution of Caiaphas and Annas, to be our redemption.

Note this worthy and true argument following.

Moreover, for all the breaking and dividing of the sacrament of his body among his apostles, his body abode still alive; and for all the pouring out of the sacrament of his blood of the pot into the cup, and out of the cup into the mouths and bellies of his disciples, he bled as fresh on the morrow, as though he had bled then nothing at all.

He was verily much more easily sacrificed that night in the breaking and dividing of the bread, and pouring out of wine, than he was on the morrow. The Sacrament was that night no doubt but a description of his passion to come. And it is now a memorial of his passion past. He instituted the manner of the sacrament then, and taught his disciples also, that they after understood when he was risen again, and not then, as they never had capacity to understand him when he spake of his death. For they then imagined carnally of Christ (as the Jews yet do) that Christ should never die: as he did not concerning his Godhead, but should live ever bodily, as he now doth concerning his resurrection.

Wherefore seeing that all the doctors with one accord, call the sacrament so earnestly a sacrifice, they cannot otherwise understand them that they so say, after the use of the Scripture only, but because it is the memorial of

All the doctors with one accord call the sacrament a sacrifice.

the sacrifice of his death and blood-shedding. Why should they then of right be offended if we understand the doctors after the same manner, when they call it his body and blood? And that they so call it after the use of the Scripture because that it is only a memorial of his body and blood.

Papists should be indifferent in judgments as protestants are.

Transubstantiation was a word used among the old doctors.

As concerning the transubstantiation: I think that such a speech was among the old doctors, though they that came after understood them amiss. Their hearts were gross, though busying themselves too much with worldly business, for the bread and wine are but only bread and wine till the words of the Testament be rehearsed over them, and then they cease to be any more bread and wine in the hearts of the true believers, for the heart after these words once spoken, thinketh only upon the covenant made in the body and blood of Christ, and through faith eateth his body, and drinketh his blood, though the eyes and other senses perceive nothing but bread and wine. As when a man sometime seeketh for a text in the Bible, he seeth paper and ink and the figure of letters; yet his heart not once thinketh of any other thing than on the word and sense of his text. And thereof, no doubt, came up this transubstantiation through false understanding.

An effectual and good argument.

Another thing is this, none of those wicked heretics which denied Christ to be very God, or any of them that denied Christ to be man or to have a very body, save a fantastical body, did cast the true believers in the teeth at any time, of the faith of Christ's body present in their sacrament everywhere, which thing is not like but they would have done, if that opinion had then been a general article of the faith.

The pope confirming transubstantiation, did purchase his own gain to the overthrow of the right use of Christ's sacrament.

Neither was there any heresy or diversity of opinion or disputing about the matter till the pope had gathered a council to confirm this transubstantiation: wherefore it is most likely that this opinion came up by them of latter days.

Furthermore, all the law and prophets, all that Christ did, or can yet do, is to bring us to believe in him, and in God the Father through him, for the remission of sins; and to bring us unto that (which immediately followeth out of that belief) to love our neighbours for his sake as he loved us. Wherefore if Christ did put his bodily presence in the sacrament, and would we should believe it; it is done only to bring us to this faith. Now is this faith no where less had, than where that opinion is most strong, neither so cruelly persecuted of Jew or Turk, as of them that most fervently defend that opinion. True faith maketh a man to love his brother, but that opinion maketh them to hate and slay their brethren that better believe in Christ than they of that opinion do, and that murder do they for fear of losing that they have gotten through that opinion.

The common persuasion of papists.

Item, they of this opinion, instead of teaching us to believe in Christ, teach us to serve Christ with bodily service, which thing is nought else but idolatry. For they preach that all the ceremonies of the Mass are a service to God, by reason of the bodily works to obtain forgiveness of sins thereby, and to deserve and merit therewith. And yet Christ is now a spiritual substance with his Father, having also a spiritual body, and with the Father to be worshipped in spirit only. And his service in the spirit is only to believe in him for the remission of sin, to call upon him, and give him thanks, and to love our neighbours for his sake.

Now all works done to serve man, and to bring him to this point, to put his trust in Christ, are good and acceptable to God; but done for any other purpose they be idolatry and image service, and make God an idol or bodily image.

Again, seeing the faith of the Testament in Christ's blood, is the life of the righteous from the beginning of the world to the end: and forasmuch as the sacrament was instituted only to bring to this life: Now when they

which think not the body to be present in the sacrament have by the preaching and confirmation of the sacrament obtained this life or steadfast faith in Christ's blood, and by the daily use of the sacrament, are more and more hardened therein, and in the love that springeth thereof, what reasonable cause have the contrary part (which believe the body present, and bread turned into the very body as flesh, bones, hair, sinews, nails, and all other, as he was put on the cross, of length and quantity, I cannot tell what) to rail on us as heretics, hate, persecute, and slay us most cruelly as enemies? Christ saith *Qui contra me non est, mecum est,* He that is not against me is with me.

Mark ix.

Papists are cruel persecutors.

Now they that believe in Christ for the remission of their sins, and for his sake love their foes, are not Christ's enemies, ergo, they be on Christ's side. Why then should they that boast themselves to be Christ's friends, slay them? Faith in Christ's blood, and in the Father through him, is God's service in spirit. And so have they which believe not the bodily presence, served God a long time, and thereto been holpen by the sacrament. The other part fallen therefrom through believing the body present, serving God with bodily service, (which is idolatry) and to make God an idol or image, in that they trust in the goodness of their works (as they which serve tyrants) and not in the goodness of God through trust in the blood of Christ; ergo, they that believe not the bodily presence, (not a little thereto compelled through the wicked idolatry of the contrary belief) are not to be thought so evil as the other would have them seem to be.

The faithful are in good state though the wicked judge the contrary.

1 Cor. xiii.

Paul teacheth, (1 Cor. xiii.) that if a man had all other gifts that God can give man, and had not charity to love his neighbour, it helpeth not. For all other gifts, and the remission in Christ's blood, also are given him of God to bring him to love his neighbour; which thing had, a man hath all, which not had, a man hath nothing.

Phil. ii.

And Phil. ii. how sweetly and how vehemently con-

jureth he them, to draw all one way, to be of one accord, and one mind or sentence. And to do nothing of strife or of vain glory, that is to say, of hate or disdain one of another, or of affection to himself for to seem glorious, but each to prefer other through meekness, and to have his opinion suspect, and to fear lest he hath not obtained the understanding, rather than of presumption to his own wit, to despise and hate the contrary party, and persecute as a tyrant. And in the third of the same Paul saith, Let as many as be perfect, (that is to say be truly taught) and know the law truly and her office and the office and effect of faith, and know which be good works before God, and what the intent of them is, let (saith he) so serve as we be come, proceed in one rule, that we may be of one accord.

Now hitherto we be all come, and this general rule have we gotten, that faith only justifieth, that is to say, that the sin is forgiven only for Christ's sake; and again, that our duty is to love our neighbours no less than Christ loved us, wherefore let us proceed forth in this rule, and exhort each other to trust to Christ, and to love each other as Christ did, and in this wherein we all agree, let us be wise only and fervent and strive who shall be greatest and go foremost.

Faith only justifieth what it is to say.

And in this which is not opened to all parties, let us be meek sober and cold, and keep our wisdom secret to ourselves, and abide patiently till God open it to other also.

The cause why the third part say that this word (is) compelleth us not to believe the bodily presence of Christ to be there is this. The Jews (say they) are wont ever to name the memorial and signs of things with the very name of the thing signified, that the very name might the better keep the thing in mind. As when Jacob, (Gen. xxxii.) turned home again out of Mesopotamia, saw the angels of God come against him, he called the place where he saw them *Mahanaim:* an host, because his posterity in time to

Gen. xxxii.

come, when they heard the field which was none host, yet so called should ask why it was so named, that thei elders might thereby have an occasion to teach that Jacob saw there an host of angels.

And again in the same chapter, when the angel that wrestled with him had blessed him and was departed, Jacob called the name of the place *Pheniel*, God's face, that the people in time to come should ask why it was called God's face, and their elders should answer, because Jacob saw there God face to face, that the name should keep the thing in mind.

Gen. xxxiii. And again in the thirty-third, where he had made boughts, or houses of boughs for his beasts, he named the place *Succoth*, that is Booths.

Item, Gen. xxxiii. He bought a parcel of land and built there an altar, and called it the mighty God of Israel.

Gen. xxxv. Item, Gen. xxxv. the God of Bethel: and Genesis the last chapter, Joseph held a lamentation for his father seven days, and the people of the country called the name of the place *Abel Masrain*, the lamentation of the Egyptians. Now the place was not the lamentation, but so called to keep the lamentation in memory.

Exod. xii. Item, Exodus xii. the lamb is called *Pesah*, a passing by, because the angel did pass by the houses and hurted not where it was slain, and the blood stricken on the posts: that the name should keep the thing in memory.

Item, Exod. xxix. and Levit. viii. almost everywhere the beast offered for sin is called sin, which use of speaking Paul useth, (Rom. ix. and 2 Cor. v.) and calleth Christ sin, when Christ is neither sin nor sinful, but an acceptable offering for sin, and yet he is called our sin, because he bare our sin on his back, and because our sins are consumed and made no sin in him, if we will forsake our sins and believe in Christ for the remission thereof. Christ is also called our righteousness to certify us that when we have no righteousness of our own, yet that his

righteousness is given us to make satisfaction for our unrighteousness, if ye will believe it.

Item, Exodus the xxx. The sin or sin-offering is called atonement, and it was yet but a sign certifying the conscience, that the atonement was made, and that God had forgiven the sin. Exod. xxx.

Item, Judges x. They called the name of a certain city *Horna*, as it were an utter destruction. Because that they had utterly destroyed man, woman, and child, and all that bare life. Judges x.

Item, Judges xv. the place where Sampson killed men with an ass's jaw, was called *Lehi*, that is jaw-bone, to keep the act in mind. Judges xv.

Item, Judges xix. There went a company out of the tribe of Dan and pitched besides *Kiriath Jearim*, in Judah, and the place was called ever after, the host of Dan, only to keep the thing in mind. Judges xix.

Item, 1 Kings vi. A great stone where God slew fifty thousand, was called the great lamentation. Insomuch that the text saith they put the ark on the great lamentation. 1 Kings vi.

Item, 1 Kings vii. Samuel pitched a stone on an end, and called it the help stone, because God had there holpen them and given them a great victory of the Philistines. 1 Kings vii.

Item, the last of the three of kings Sedechias, came to Achab with a couple of horns on his head, saying, With these horns shalt thou slay the Assyrians, he meant not that Achab should take these horns and gore at the Assyrians: but would that he should believe only that as a beast scattereth a cock of hay with his horns, so should Achab scatter the host of the Assyrians with his host. 3 Kings xxii.

Item, Numbers the sixth, he that voweth abstinence must let his hair grow to keep his abstinence in mind; and when his abstinence is out, he is commanded to shave the head of his abstinence, and to offer such offerings as are there appointed after that he hath shaven off his absti- Numb. vi.

nence. Lo here, the hair is called his abstinence, and is yet but a memory of his abstinence.

Jerem. vii. Item, Jerem. vii. The prophet was commanded to shear off his abstinence and to cast it away, which abstinence is but his hair.

Ezek. xii. Also Ezekiel xii. God commanded the prophet to remove withal his goods, after such manner as conquerors carry away the people captive from country to country, and when he had done, The Lord said unto him, this prophecy is the captain or prince of Jerusalem, when it was but an ensample to him how he should be served.

A short and effectual collection of the former arguments. Finally, where Matthew and Mark say, This cup is my blood of the New Testament. Paul and Luke say, This cup is the New Testament in my blood. Now must the sense of the words of the two first, Matthew and Mark, be all one with the senses of the words of the two last, Luke and Paul. The words of Luke and Paul are: This cup is the New Testament made in my blood, or for my blood's sake.

Now the Testament is, that his blood was shed for our sins, but it is impossible that the cup or his blood should be that promise; wherefore the sense must be needs that it is the memorial and seal of the Testament only. And therefore where Matthew and Mark say, This cup is my blood of the New Testament, the sense must needs be also, that it is the memorial and seal thereof, only calling after the use of the Hebrews, the sign with the name of that which is signified, that is to say, calling the wine which only signifieth the blood with the name of the blood. And then it followeth that the bread is called his body after the same manner because it is the sign of his body.

These and like ensamples move the third part to affirm that we be not bound to believe that the bread is the very body of Christ, though it be so called; nor that the bread is transubstantiated into the body: no more than the things here rehearsed, or that they be called or transubstantiated into the very things which they be called.

The other will answer, though this memorial were not the things whose names they bear, yet it will not follow that it should be so here in the sacrament; for they that gave such other names had no power to make the things so to be: but Christ is very God and hath power to make his body to be every thing and every where.

An objection made by the papists.

I answer that God cannot make every of his creatures God, neither can it be proved less repugnant that a creature should be every where, than that he should be God.

An answer to the former objection.

Moreover, though God where he appeared to Jacob had pitched a stone on an end and called it God's face, yet had he not been any more bound to believe that it had been the very face of God than if Jacob had done it. The almightiness of God standeth not in that he is able to do all that our foolish, lewd thoughts may imagine. But because all power is his and of him and that he doth all he will, and hath made all of naught, and can bring all to naught again. And can do all that includeth not contrary to the truth and verity that God hath put in his creatures; and because he can do things impossible for man or any other creature to do or think how they should be done, therefore he is called the Lord Almighty; but because to brawl about such possibility or impossibility is the lust of sophisters, and also the desire of the devil to quench the profession of our baptism, and to wipe out the image of Christ out of our hearts, and a thing endless; therefore I count it wickedness to wade forth in it, and to give them that seek an occasion perpetually to scold. The negative may a man hold till they can prove the affirmative.

Moreover, if bread be the very body of Christ, whether abiding the very body still or transubstantiated, and enjoy the glory of the soul of Christ, and also of the Godhead?

It seemeth impossible to be avoided but that Christ was made man and died; also bread, which seemeth to some a great inconvenience. Howbeit that great pro-

motion of bread, and also that high power of priests above all angels, I admit also, to avoid all brawling, but one reason I have unto which I cleave somewhat and it is this.

An excellent argument.

All that is between God and man in the Scripture is for man's necessity, and not for any need that God hath thereof. And other spiritual profit can none have by that faith in the sacrament, than to be taught thereby to believe in Christ our Saviour, and to do good to his neighbour, now is that belief and love had as well and rather better as is above proved, without such faith in with it; ergo, where the Scripture compelleth to no such belief, it is wickedness to make it a necessary article of our faith, and to slay them that cannot think that it ought to be believed.

Notwithstanding all these reasons and the damnable idolatry which the papists have committed with the sacrament, yet, whether they affirm the body and blood to be present with the bread and wine, or the bread and wine to be turned and transubstantiated into the body and blood; I am therewith content (for unity's sake) if they will there cease, and let him be there only to testify and confirm the testament or covenant made in Christ's blood and body, for which cause only Christ instituted the sacrament. But and if they will rage further with their blind reasons of their subtle sophistry and devilish idolatry, and say, where Christ's blood is, there is his body, and where his body is, there is his soul, and where his soul is, there is his Godhead and the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and there men ought to pray, and say, O Father which art present with thy Son Christ under bread and wine, or in form of bread and wine. If (I say) they so rave, then as the old prophet for like idolatry, denieth God to dwell in the temple, or to have pleasure in sacrifice of blood of goats, sheep and calves; even so deny I the body of Christ to be any more in the sacrament, than God was in the golden calves which Jeroboam set up to be prayed to,

the one in Bethel, and the other in Dan, for though God be present everywhere, yet if heaven of heavens cannot compass him to make him a dwelling place (as the Scripture testifieth) and much less the temple that was at Jerusalem, how should he have a dwelling place in a little wafer or crumb of bread. God dwelleth not in the temple, neither did our fathers, which were of the true faith in the Old Testament, pray to God as present in the temple, but the name of God only was in the temple, (3 of the Kings viii.) and his law and covenants and wonderful deeds were therein written in signs and were there preached and testified continually of the true priests and prophets unto the people, the fathers of the true faith came thither. 3Kings viii.

Furthermore for the fervent love which they had towards the laws and covenants of God. For the which prophets, Solomon prayed so earnestly unto the Lord God, saying, Hear thou, O God, in heaven thy dwelling place, and do all that the stranger calleth to thee for; that all nations of the earth may know thee and fear thy name, as do this people Israel, &c.

Read the third book of Kings the eighth chapter when God delighted only in the faith of the offerer, which believeth in God only for all mercy, taking the sacrifice for a sure token and earnest of the mercy of God, certified by that sign, that God loved them, and was at one with them for Christ's sake to come. As we should be certified by the sacrament of God with us for Christ's death that is past. And Christ taught us in our prayers to look up to heaven and say, Our Father which art in heaven, and he himself in all his prayers did lift up his eyes to heaven to his Father, and so did he when he instituted the sacrament and rehearsed the words of the covenant over bread and wine as it is written Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi. in these words, Jesus took bread, &c. 3Kings viii. Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi.

Christ, though he affirm himself to be the Son of God and his father to be in him, yet he taught not his disciples to direct the prayer to the Father in him, but up to the

Father in heaven, neither lift he up his eyes or prayer to his Father in the sacrament, but to his Father in heaven. I know diverse and diverse men know me, which love me as I do them, yet if I should pray them when I meet them in the street openly, they would abhor me, but if I pray them where they be appointed to meet me secretly, they will hear me and accept my request. Even so though God's presence be everywhere, yet will he be prayed so, up to the place only where we shall see him, and where he would have us to long for to be.

Moreover if I grant you that the blood of Christ is in the cup, will it follow that his body is there also, neither when I grant that his body is in the bread, or under the form of bread, will it follow that his soul is there too. Christ made the bread the sacrament of his body only, wherefore as the bread is no similitude of his blood, so am I not bound or ought to affirm that his blood is there present. And he did institute the wine to be the sacrament of his blood only. And haply it was red wine, the more lovely to represent it. Now as the wine in no *similitude* doth represent the body, so am I not bound nor ought to affirm that his body is there present.

Ye say that Christ is so mighty, that though he stood mortal before his disciples eyes, yet he was able to make the same body that same time to be in the sacrament immortal, and to be under every little piece of bread or of the sacrament, though it be no greater than a mote in the sun, and that as long, as great, and thick as he stood before them. If he were so mighty, why is he not as mighty to make his blood to be alone and his body alone? his blood, body and soul were each alone at his death, and while the body lay in the sepulchre.

Finally, Christ said, This is my blood that shall be shed; ergo, it is true now, This is my blood that was shed. Now the blood of Hales and the blood that is in many other places, men say is the blood that was shed, ergo, that blood is in the sacrament if any be, but I am not

bound to believe or ought to affirm, that the blood that is at Hales is animate with the soul of Christ, or that his body is there present.

Wherefore to avoid this endless brawling, which the devils no doubt hath stirred up to turn the eyes of our souls from the everlasting covenant made us in Christ's blood and body and to nossel us in idolatry, which is trust and confidence in false worshipping of God, and to quench first the faith to Christward and then the love due to our neighbour; therefore me thinketh that the party that hath professed the faith of Christ, and the love of his neighbour, ought of duty to bear each other, as long as the other opinion is not plain wicked through false idolatry, nor contrary to the salvation that is in Christ, nor against the open and manifest doctrine of Christ and his apostles, nor contrary to the general articles of the faith of the general church of Christ, which are confirmed with open Scripture. In which articles never a true church in any land dissenteth.

There be many texts of the Scripture, and therefore diversely expounded of holy doctors, and taken in contrary senses, when no text hath contrary senses indeed, or more than one single sense, and yet that hurteth not, neither are the holy doctors therefore heretics, as the exposition destroyeth not the faith in Christ's blood, nor is contrary to the open Scripture or general articles. No more doth it hurt to say that the body and blood are not in the sacrament. Neither doth it help to say they be there, but hurt exceedingly, if ye infer that the soul is there too, and that God must be there prayed to; when as our kingdom is not on the earth, even so we ought not to direct our prayers to any God in earth, but up where our kingdom is. And whither our Redeemer and Saviour is gone, and there sitteth on the right hand of his Father to pray for us, and to offer out prayers unto his father, and to make them for his sake acceptable; neither ought he that is bound under pain of

damnation to love his brother as Christ loved him, to hate, to persecute, and to slay his brother, for blind zeal to any opinion that neither letteth nor hindereth to salvation that is in Christ: as they which pray to God in the sacrament not only do, but also through that opinion, as they have lost love to their neighbours; even so have they lost the true faith in the covenant made in Christ's blood and body. Which covenant only is that which saveth. And to testify this was the sacrament instituted only.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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